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PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT GÖTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED BY THE
REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A.,

CANON RESIDENTIARY AND PRECENTOR OF LINCOLN,
AND CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED

LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS, YORK STREET,
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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DR. KARL WIESELER'S *Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels* has been long known to the theological student as one of the most important contributions to the solution of the difficult problem involved in the arrangement and harmonizing of the facts of our Lord's Life, as contained in the Gospels. Published at Hamburg in 1843, it was speedily recognized as the ablest and most exhaustive treatise on the subject, and as furnishing a storehouse of exact information for all future investigators in the same field. Wieseler's chronological system has recently become more extensively known from having formed the basis both of the *Synopsis Evangelica* of the learned and laborious Tischendorf, and of the *Historical Lectures on the Life of Our Lord* of the present able and excellent Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. Both of these writers, than whom few are better qualified to pass a judgment on such points, have fully recognized the claims of Wieseler's system as, to say the least, the most probable of all the attempts hitherto made to arrange the events of our Lord's Life in the order of chronological succession, and though differing widely from him in some of his conclusions, have accepted it as a whole, as the foundation of their own synoptical labours. Bp. Ellicott's commendatory words may well be quoted here, both as forming the best introduction of the work to those who may hitherto have been unac-

quainted with it, and also because the wish expressed in the closing sentence was the first motive for undertaking this translation. He says (p. 143, n. 2), "This opportunity may properly be taken of especially recommending to every thoughtful student who may be acquainted with the language in which it is written this able treatise on the succession of the events in the Gospel history. The more recent *Synopsis Evangelica* of Tischendorf is based nearly entirely on the researches and deductions of this keen-sighted writer, and the present work owes a very large part of what may be thought plausible or probable in its chronological arrangement to the same intelligent guide. A translation of it would be a very welcome aid to the general reader." In a later part of his *Lectures* (p. 244, n. 4) the Bishop, when again speaking of the importance of the work, expresses his regret that the novel interpretations propounded by Wieseler in some few important passages, on which an almost universal sentence of condemnation has been pronounced, have "led hasty readers to rate so able a work below its real merits." In this regret the translator must fully concur. It did not fall within his province to indicate all the points on which his own conclusions differed from those of his author, but in the course of his work he has not unfrequently regretted that so much learning and acuteness should have been expended on the support of an untenable hypothesis, and has been almost tempted to disencumber the treatise of those portions which could only tend to depreciate it in the eyes of theological students. To do this, however, was on many accounts evidently impracticable. The translator has therefore contented himself with stating in the more prominent instances the ordinarily received view, and referring to some of the principal authorities. These few supplementary notes have been uniformly distinguished by brackets. The only considerable addition he has

thought it desirable to make has been a summary of Zumpt's arguments in support of the earlier proconsulate of Quirinus. His original treatise is not very accessible, and it was thought that an outline of this portion of it would not be an unacceptable supplement to Wieseler's discussion of the subject of the census at our Lord's birth.

As regards the translation itself, the translator must acknowledge that he has made no attempt to turn Wieseler's somewhat cumbrous and awkward phraseology into elegant English. This might have produced a book much more agreeable to read; but to have done so, would have been to rewrite the work; an operation hardly consistent with the fidelity properly demanded of a translator. The translation has doubtless other faults and deficiencies for which the author is not accountable. All the translator can say is, that the utmost care has been taken to avoid them.

The translator has now the pleasing task of expressing his obligations to several from whom he has received much valuable aid. His thanks are especially due to the Rev. Thomas Gordon, of Newbattle Manse, Dalkeith, for his liberality in allowing him the use of a carefully executed translation made by himself. This did not come into the translator's hands until a large portion of his work was completed, but it was of great service to him in the task of revision. He has also to thank his old and valued friends, the Rev. C. A. Swainson, Canon Residentiary of Chichester, and the Rev. Professor Plumptre, of King's College, for much important help most ungrudgingly rendered during the progress of the work. The proofs of the earlier pages had the advantage of passing under their eye; and counsel and assistance was afforded by them through the whole.

BONCHURCH, ISLE OF WIGHT,

April 5, 1864.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

OPPORTUNITY has been taken in this edition, to revise and, where needed, to amend the translation, and to add a very few notes and references where they seemed required to supplement or correct Dr. Wieseler's text. In these notes use has been made of the author's later investigations on the chronology of the Gospels given in his "*Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien und der Evangelischen Geschichte*," published at Gotha in 1869 as a supplement to his former work, especially when, as in the case of the date of the accession of Tiberius, he has found it necessary to retract his former conclusion. The whole of this more recent work deserves to be introduced by translation to the English theological student. As Mr. Sanday has observed, "there are few works that more deserve to be inscribed with the German motto, 'Fleiss und Treue'" [Diligence and Fidelity]. But to have annexed these supplementary enquiries to the present volume, would have altered its character, and have swelled it to an inconvenient bulk.

THE PRECENTORY, LINCOLN,
Oct. 23, 1877.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
<i>Author's Preface.</i>	XV
<i>Introduction</i>	1
I. The object of the work, 1. II. The necessity for, and scientific claims of the enquiry, 2. III. What the resolution of the question requires, and its possibility, 14. IV. Point of view of our enquiry, 19. V. Principles of the undertaking, 24.	

SECTION I.

<i>The Birth and Childhood of Christ</i>	33
--	----

CHAPTER I.

<i>Where was Christ born?</i>	34
Matthew and Luke agree that our Lord was born at Bethlehem, 34. Discrepancy of Matthew and Luke stated, and explained, 35. Meaning of ἀναχωρεῖν, 37. The term Nazarene explained, 42. Testimony of John, <i>ib.</i> Our Lord's ἰδία πατρίς not Galilee, 44; nor Samaria, 46; but Judea, 47.	

CHAPTER II.

<i>When was Christ born?</i>	49
Four data to determine the year, 50. <i>First Datum.</i> The reign of Herod the Great, 51. The day of Herod's death, 56. <i>Second Datum.</i> The star of the wise men, 57. The star a real one, 58. Enquiry into its nature, 60. Kepler's view of the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, 62. Tycho Brahe's new star, 67. That of the Chinese tables, 68.	

Third Datum. The taxing, 71. Objections to its historical character, 72. (1) A general census at this time not improbable, and confirmed by other writers, 73. Dio, 82. Monumentum Ancyranum, 87. (2) Objections based on Judea being still governed by its own princes stated and met, 91. Insurrection of Matthias, 98. Theudas identified with Matthias, 106. (3) Objections against Bethlehem being the place of the taxing met, 102. (4) Not improbable that Mary would accompany Joseph, 104. (5) Supposed confusion of the earlier census with that under Quirinus, 105. *πρώτη* used in a comparative sense, 112. *Fourth Datum.* Our Lord's age at the commencement of His ministry, Lu. iii. 23, 117. General conclusion as to the year of Christ's birth, 126. Investigation into the month of Christ's birth, 127. Various data. The *inventio Osiridis*, 130. The course of Abia, 133. The time of driving out the flocks, 138. Conclusion as to the month, 142.

[*Additional Note* on the earlier Proconsulate of Quirinus as maintained by A. W. Zumpt, 143.]

CHAPTER III.

<i>Succession of Events in the History of Our Lord's Childhood</i>	151
Zacharias' place of residence, 151. Arrangement of the narratives of Matthew and Luke, 152. Flight into Egypt, 158. Our Lord's first visit to Jerusalem, 159.	

SECTION II.

<i>From the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist and of Christ, to the Baptist's imprisonment, and Christ's return from Jerusalem to Galilee after the Feast of Purim</i>	160
--	-----

CHAPTER I.

<i>The General Harmony of the Text</i>	160
--	-----

CHAPTER II.

<i>Chronological Determination of the Two Limiting Points of the Period</i>	164
The "TERMINUS A QUO." (I.) <i>Our Lord's Baptism by John</i> , 164. Calculation of the "forty and six years," Joh. ii. 20, 165.	

CONTENTS.

xi

PAGE

The day of the baptism not intended, Joh. i. 29—34, 167. The data supplied, Lu. iii. 1, 2, 171. (1) The 15th year of Tiberius, *ib.* (2) Pontius Pilate, 173. (3) Tetrarchy of Philip, *ib.* (4) That of Antipas, *ib.* (5) That of Lysanias. Objections seated and removed, 174. (5) Annas and Caiaphas, 183. ἀρχιερεὺς interpreted of the Nasi, 184. The data refer not to the Baptist's first public appearance, 191; but to his imprisonment, 195. Date of our Lord's baptism, 200.

— (II.) *Commencement of the Baptist's ministry*, 202.

The "TERMINUS AD QUEM." (I.) *Christ's return to Galilee after the Feast of Purim*, 204. Discussion of the meaning of ἐορτή, Joh. v. 1, *ib.* Veadar the Jewish intercalary month, *ib.*; in what month was Purim celebrated, 205. This ἐορτή probably Purim, 208; interpretation of Joh. iv. 35, 212; other arguments in favour of Purim, 215; objections answered, 218.

— (II.) *Christ's return to Galilee after the Baptist's imprisonment*, 221. This return identified with that implied, Joh. vi. 1, *ib.* Meaning of the "second sabbath after the first," 222. Scaliger's view, 226. True view, 228. Date of the connection between Antipas and Herodias, 235. Position of Ænon and Salim, 244. Place of Herod's feast, 246.

CHAPTER III.

The Succession of Events in this Period. 247

Data for this period, 248. Arrangement of Joh. i. 19—iv. 54, *ib.*
General harmony of events, 253.

SECTION III.

From Christ's return to Galilee after the Baptist's imprisonment, to His journey to the Feast of Tabernacles 258

CHAPTER I.

The Text of the Section as a whole 258

The tribute-money not a Jewish, but a Roman tax, 259. Date of Christ's journey to the Feast of Tabernacles thus fixed, 264.

CHAPTER II.

<i>The Text in detail</i>	PAGE 265
A. <i>Relation between John and Luke</i> , 266. Feeding of the Five Thousand, 267. Christ's discourse at Capernaum, 270. Peter's confession, 271. The Apostles gradually prepared for their office, 272.	
B. <i>Arrangement of Synoptical Narrative by means of John and Luke</i> , 273.	
(I.) Tabular arrangement of Mar. i. 14—vi. 44 based on Lu. iv. 44—ix. 17, 275; remarks on preceding arrangement, 277. Events of the former half of the section, 283. Events of the latter half, 285. Meaning of the term <i>Γενέσια</i> , 286. Tabular arrangement of Matt. iv. 12—xiv. 21 based on Lu. iv. 14—ix. 17, 291. Characteristics of Matthew's Gospel, 292. Remarks on preceding arrangement, 293. Relation of Matthew's Gospel to the <i>λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου</i> , 296. Sermon on the Mount, 297.	
(II.) Relation and tabular arrangement of the events Lu. ix. 18—50, Mar. vi. 45—ix. 50, Matt. xiv. 22—xviii. 35, Joh. vi. 16—vii. 14, 300.	

CHAPTER III.

<i>General Result of the Examination of this Section</i> . . .	305
--	-----

SECTION IV.

<i>From Our Lord's journey to the Feast of Tabernacles, to His last kingly entry into Jerusalem</i>	307
---	-----

The initial and terminal points of the section, 307. Relation of John's narrative to that of Luke, 308. Discussion of Luke's account, 310. Meaning of the term *ἀνδληψις*, 314. Mission of the Seventy, 317. Luke's omissions supplied from John, 319. Tabular arrangement, 321. Cure of the blind men at Jericho, 322.

SECTION V.

	PAGE
<i>From Our Lord's last kindly entry into Jerusalem, to His Death and Burial. Passion Week</i>	323

CHAPTER I.

<i>The day of Our Lord's Death</i>	324
(I.) <i>On what day of the Week was our Lord crucified?</i> 324. Meaning of the term <i>παρασκευή</i> , 325. General conclusion in favour of Friday, 329.	
(II.) <i>Was our Lord crucified on the fifteenth or fourteenth of Nisan?</i> 329. Discussion of the fundamental passages in the Pentateuch, 331. The testimony of Josephus, 334. The Paschal festivals not fixed to certain days of the week, 336. Hitzig's arrangement of Passion-week, 342. The 15th of Nisan might fall on a Friday, <i>ib.</i> Does John place the crucifixion on the 14th of Nisan? 347. Alleged impossibility of holding criminal courts on the 15th of Nisan discussed, 348. Other objections met, 352. Argument from the Paschal controversy of the second century, 355. Investigation of Joh. xii. 1, 364; of Joh. xiii. 1, 2, 365; and of Joh. xviii. 28, 367. <i>τὸ πᾶσχα</i> identified with the Chagiga, 368. Harmony of John and the Synoptists maintained, 372.	
(III.) The year and day of our Lord's death, 372. The attempt to determine the question from the darkness, 373; from the Roman consuls, 375; and from mystical grounds, <i>ib.</i>	

CHAPTER II.

<i>The Events of Passion Week</i>	376
The supper at Bethany, 377. Palm Sunday, 378. Monday, 379. Tuesday, <i>ib.</i> ; Wednesday, 382. Maundy Thursday, 383. Harmony of the narrative of the Last Supper, 384. Good Friday, 386. Our Lord's agony, <i>ib.</i> His trial and condemnation, <i>ib.</i> Peter's denial, 388; the place of trial, <i>ib.</i> ; the time, 390. Discrepancy between John and the Synoptists as to the time of the crucifixion cleared up, 392. Our Lord's crucifixion and death, 399; His burial, <i>ib.</i>	

SECTION VI.

	PAGE
<i>From Our Lord's Burial to His Ascension</i>	400

CHAPTER I.

<i>Our Lord in the Grave</i>	400
--	-----

CHAPTER II.

<i>Our Lord's Resurrection. The Forty Days. His Ascension</i>	402
---	-----

The reality of our Lord's resurrection, 402. Examination of 1 Cor. xv. 4—8, 403; the appearances not arranged by St. Paul chronologically, 404. Discrepancy between Lu. xxiv. 49 and the other Synoptists removed, 406. (1) Our Lord's appearances in Judea, 408; the Marys, 409. (2) The appearances in Galilee, 416. (3) The last appearance in Judea and the Ascension, 417. St. Paul acquainted with the Ascension, 418.

Excursus on the Form of the Jewish Year at the time of Christ, 420.

Table of Jewish Festivals from 1 Nisan, 28 A.D. 781 A.U.C. to 1 Nisan, 30 A.D. 783 A.U.C., 458.

Comparative View of the Dates assigned to the Birth, Baptism, and Death of Christ, 461.

Index of Passages of Scripture explained or illustrated, 463.
General Index, 467.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

WHATEVER prefatory remarks I had to make on the internal character of the subject of the present work have been already given in a separate Introduction. Now that the work is finished, I desire to add a few words for the purpose of avoiding all possible misconception, as well as to facilitate the work of the critic, on the method employed in carrying out and realizing the fundamental principles laid down in the Introduction, especially on the use made of the existing literature.

It will be at once apparent, even to the cursory reader, that I have felt it my duty to devote my chief attention and labour to the establishment of certain fundamental dates. *e.g.* Our Lord's birth, His baptism, the length of His public ministration, the Baptist's imprisonment, and our Lord's death. When these have been once accurately arranged, we readily secure a solid framework in which the events of our Lord's life can be inserted chronologically, and thus we arrive at a scientific chronological system, the several parts of which mutually control and establish one another. As long as these main pillars remain unshaken, it really matters very little whether any particular portions of the superstructure endure the purifying fire of scientific criticism or not. The views I have put forth and the deductions I have made may be accepted or rejected; so much, however, I am hardly wrong in believing, that the exegetist and historian can have no hope of forming a real synopsis or harmony,

based on the text of the Gospels, and as far as possible free from all uncertainty, unless he is also willing, either previously, or simultaneously, or subsequently, to undertake the labour of the chronological enquiry which underlies the whole.

My hope is that I may find kind and unprejudiced readers, convinced not only of the necessity but also of the practicability of this enquiry. I can hardly fail to meet with those who from their own experience can estimate the difficulty and laboriousness of the task, and who can discover, supply, and repair any deficiencies that may be in it, and from whose hands whatever good it may contain may receive improvement and embellishment.

The selection I have made from the existing literature is in connection with the main object of the work, which is before everything else to secure a firm immovable basis for our chronological synopsis. This literature is remarkably copious as long as we are concerned with the establishment of a fundamental datum for this synopsis, but diminishes as we lose sight of that object. Instead of entering on a detailed criticism of the various theories, I thought I might more suitably refer to the ordinarily accepted exegetical authorities when seeking to establish my own view more fully, especially when that was at variance with those usually received. Taking into consideration the infinite amount of exegetical apparatus relating to the Gospels, both of ancient and modern date, a certain degree of limitation was absolutely necessary. There is, however, scarcely one of the larger works, especially of the German Protestant literature, which has obtained currency, from whatever quarter it might come, which I have entirely passed over, if it appeared at all likely to forward the object I had in view. Ephemeral literature reflecting the passing tone of the day might be more easily neglected.

GÖTTINGEN,

June 2, 1843.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE OBJECT OF THE WORK.

THE present work professes in its title to be "A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels." To shew how this title is to be understood, it will be necessary to explain *first*, what is intended by the term "Synopsis," and *secondly*, the exact force of the limitations implied by the two predicates "of the Four Gospels" and "Chronological."

By the term Synopsis, as here employed, I do not understand the parallel arrangement of actual passages of the Gospel Text, critically sifted, either really, conjecturally, or apparently corresponding, such as that which, as is well known, has for convenience sake been so often and with such constantly increasing success undertaken, (especially by Griesbach,) for the purpose of obtaining a general conspectus of the Criticism and Exegesis of the text: but, on the contrary, the whole process of the formation of this general conspectus, together with the fuller establishment of the basis on which it rests. The parallel passages and parallel sections of the Sacred Text will indeed be arranged together, but not printed "in extenso." At the same time, however, we have endeavoured, as far as appears practicable, to decide on sufficient data how far this parallelism is real, or whether it exists only in appearance.

And while the Synopses above referred to aim at completeness only as regards the first three Gospels, which on that account are specially called Synoptical, and adduce

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parallels from the fourth Gospel only exceptionally and in the most obvious cases, (*e.g.* the history of the Passion,) the purpose of the present Synopsis is to subject the whole of the four Canonical Gospels to the same treatment.

In conclusion, the aim of the present attempt is to form a *Chronological* Synopsis of the Gospels. Its first and essential object therefore is to understand the Gospels, and all that is in any way connected with them, chronologically. By which I understand not merely the determination of the date of certain marked epochs in our Lord's Life, *e.g.* the year of His Birth—that in which He commenced His public Ministry—the length of that Ministry—the year and day of His Death, etc., but the investigation and establishment of everything that goes to form the idea of *succession* in the widest sense of the word: *i.e.* (since this idea is identical with a development in time and place) a determination, when practicable, of the time and place of all the events in the Life of our Lord, recorded either in the four Gospels or elsewhere in the New Testament. Other historical investigations will also occur, and perhaps pretty frequently; as for example, with the view of proving that a chronological datum is not *à priori* false, because it informs us of a fact which is not confirmed by any other trustworthy historical testimony. Such discussions, however, will only occur when, and so far as they appear adapted to aid in any way in attaining the end in view. The central point of our synoptical and critical treatment of the sacred text must never be forgotten, *viz.* the investigation and establishment of the exact order of succession of the events of our Lord's Life.

II. THE NECESSITY FOR, AND SCIENTIFIC CLAIMS OF THE ENQUIRY.

To shew the necessity which exists for such a work as this at the present day, as well as to justify it on scientific grounds, we propose to regard it in its relation, *first*, to the present position of Harmonistic studies; *secondly*, to the two-fold nature of the contents of the Gospel history; and *thirdly*, to the objects of that Gospel literature, which

is allied to, and organically connected with, the present Synopsis.

1. No one can examine the history of the critical and harmonistic study of the Gospels from the beginning of the present century, with a scrutinizing eye, without perceiving that, in the midst of the most enormous fluctuations with regard to particular points, one common tendency has prevailed, which must therefore, notwithstanding the varied subjectivity of the critics, have its foundation and source in the actual relation of the Gospels to one another. Whether the priority in rank was assigned to Matthew as the apostolic, or to Mark as the earliest Evangelist, or to Luke as the critical and pragmatic writer, these three Gospels have been always regarded as forming one whole, and under the name of the *Synoptical Gospels* have been contrasted with that of John. This seems at once to plant a Dualism in the very substance of the Canonical Gospels. To determine whether this Dualism is merely apparent, or actually existing, is the fundamental and all-important question, on the answer to which the scientific claims of all harmonistic studies depend, while its solution is a task on which the exegetical theology of the present day is either consciously or unconsciously employed. Now if we supposed that each of the two sides of the Gospel narrative had transmitted essentially true features of the portraiture of the Historical Christ, would it not follow, on the supposition of their absolute internal diversity, that the Dualism would be transferred to the Historical Christ Himself, and that the Docetic heresy, though in a somewhat different form, would thus receive an historical justification? It is true, that the Church, which, under the guidance of the Spirit, admitted all four Gospels into the Canon, has thus made once for all a practical declaration, which she has frequently enough since then declared by her mouthpieces and organs, that in the four Gospels she possesses and recognizes the one, true, undivided, all-sided portraiture, of the historical Christ. And it may seem to us difficult, nay impossible, to imagine that the Church, the earnest opponent of Docetism, should have erred in this point.

Nevertheless it still remains the province of thoughtful Theological Science to employ the subjects which are patent to all, for the purpose of investigating whether the Church, while recognizing herself in the Canonical Gospels, has not at the same time sanctioned an unconscious Docetism in her own bosom. It may be replied, that neither Christian Faith nor the Science of that Faith recognize the historical truth of a Docetic Christ. But what if in the apparent contrast between the Gospels an original Dualism with respect to the portraiture of Christ be really presented? In this case Faith, and the Science of Faith, just in proportion to the dread it feels of any approach to Dualism in the person of Christ, must itself wish and endeavour to demonstrate that that portion of the contents of the Gospels hitherto regarded as canonical, which in the common apprehension of mankind had succeeded in establishing this Dualism, *was ipso facto*, neither canonical nor historical, and consequently to be either expunged altogether from the Canon, or at any rate to be regarded as deutero-canonical. If then we take an un-biassed view of the subject, it is evident that not only the enemies of Christian faith, but faith itself, and the Church, are interested in having the real nature of this apparent Dualism investigated and discussed with all the acuteness in the power of science, *i.e.* thoughtfully and calmly.

This is a work on which the Church has been long engaged. Not now for the first time, but almost from her very foundation, it has occupied her. But while the unity of the Gospels has been hitherto principally reflected in the immediate *life* of the Church, and has thus received *practical* demonstration, it now specially requires to be vindicated before and incorporated with Scientific Consciousness. We cannot any longer revert to the earlier direct line of proof, now that Criticism and Scepticism have brought forward such trenchant objections. Bare assertions are of no avail when men ask for proofs, and if they did so less coarsely, may legitimately ask for them. This is in fact acknowledged by all who have taken part in this controversy, both in theory and practice, or at least in theory if not always in practice, and conversely. The present position of the treatment of the question of the

mutual relation of the Gospels is however substantially as follows.

There are some who with implicit faith assume the unity of the synoptical Gospels with that of John. Their faith is sufficient so long as it exists in its original simplicity. But there is no one who has any living connection with the theology of the present day, and, as in duty bound, employs himself, according to the measure of strength vouchsafed to him, in aiding in its development, who can continue altogether exempt from doubt. And when doubt has once entered his mind, it is only through Knowledge that Faith can gain a permanent victory. His Faith must become a Scientific Faith, and must exercise itself to give a reason both to itself and to others of what it believes.¹ Faith must not remain without knowledge. For it is the nature of the living Faith "which maketh free" to evolve from itself both the work and the knowledge of faith. With this view several writers have already endeavoured to establish the hypothesis of the unity of the Gospels, natural to faith, which is now a subject of such keen controversy. Much of what they have published has been most excellent; and yet the time the conflict has lasted, and the way in which it is still waged, seems to be an incontrovertible proof that the results hitherto arrived at, and the just hopes which these results seemed fitted to awaken, are by no means such as to warrant us in asserting that the claims of Faith and Knowledge have as yet been equally satisfied. If we look more closely into the nature of the conflict, we shall see that the number of those who maintain that the two members of the Gospel narrative are in the main of equal authority, is far exceeded by that of those who give the unconditional priority, in a greater or less degree, to one or other of them. The history of the struggle shews us that the Synoptical Gospels had first to give way to the apostolical Gospel of John. This was the necessary consequence of the criticism which was first employed upon them in investigating their characteristics and their respective sources. But it soon came to the turn of St.

¹ Tit. i. 9.

John's Gospel. Vigorous however as was the assault made on it, the innate power of the Gospel, and the skill of its champions were still greater. The Gospel was vindicated on the whole, since even its most formidable opponent¹ resolved upon a public recantation, declaring that his end was gained. Such being the state of things, it is not at all to be wondered at if the Synoptists were not unfrequently thrust into the background, while on the other hand, all salvation seemed to be looked for by some from the Gospel of John alone. Then also there could not fail to be a reaction. Later criticism brought about the change in the most decided manner. Fully convinced that the most palpable discrepancies can be pointed out in the Gospels both when taken singly and in their mutual relation to one another, the critics of the present day have been wont to attach little value to them generally, and least of all to that of John. While the one party were exalting and maintaining the Gospel of John, the other the Synoptists against one another, it came to pass that in the particular cases where the two appeared to be at variance, a third party without any fixed general rule, often only in accordance with a certain principle of fairness, divided the truth between the two. And thus, though perhaps we cannot altogether approve of the mode adopted, utterance was given to the correct feeling, that the discrepancy of the members of the Gospel-whole had been brought forward far too prominently.²

¹ C. G. Bretschneider, *Probabil. de Evang. et Epist. Ioann. indole et origine*, 1820. Retracted in the *Magazine für Christl. Prediger*, II. 2, p. 154.

² We can hardly resist the conclusion that the Synopses of the Gospel already existing, though certainly very meritorious in themselves, and quite indispensable as aids to criticism in its strictest sense, have contributed their share in bringing this difference into greater prominence. Their very existence depends on the unity of the first three Gospels, as distinguished from that of John. Only particular passages of the fourth Gospel find place in their scheme. And thus, when used for private reading, or for public lectures, they give countenance to the *separate* consideration of the Synoptists. And consequently a synoptical arrangement of the *four* Gospels, based as far as possible on principles of chronology, with the view of bringing into fuller prominence their higher unity, has become perhaps one of the chief wants of our day. Still "*abusus non tollit usum.*" And

In this brief sketch I trust that I have given a correct picture of the present position of the question of the harmonistic study of the Gospels in general, and have pointed out on what it depends. If this be so, an endeavour to construct a chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels will not be merely justified *per se*, but will also be seen to be based upon a special necessity. For on the one hand, a Synopsis of this character is an investigation which must precede every harmonistic system, since in no other way is it possible to specify the proper places where each fact and event is to be inserted, so that if the system is to have better success than those before it, this is a necessary pre-requisite. On the other hand, it is a portion, and that not an unimportant one, of the harmonistic literature, since the questions of time and place in St. John's Gospel in relation to those given by the Synoptists, have from the beginning, as is well known, afforded no small difficulties to expositors.

2. Let us now consider the contents of the Gospel-History as such, apart from the circumstance that it has been narrated by four separate individuals, whose statements have first to be examined and combined in accordance with their individual and mutual relations. It is evident that as in the Person of Christ Himself, so also in the Gospel History in which that Person is set forth, two sides may be distinguished; one which presupposes the Supernatural, the reality of the idea of Revelation, Miracle, and Prophecy: another, which belongs to the province of natural events. These two are not simply distinct from one another, but each is involved in the other. Nor yet are they directly one, even as God and Man are not directly one. Both however are necessary,

these comprehensive treatises and lectures on the life of Christ will at any rate be of this service in future, that they will aid in confining this "abuse" more and more within its proper limits. Quite recently (1843) Gehringer has published a chronological harmony of the Gospels (Tübingen, 1842) containing much that is valuable, with no little that is defective. This could hardly be avoided. Every commencement is difficult. And the chronological character of the Gospels had not been previously examined with due care. [Dr. Wieseler writes apparently in complete ignorance of the works of English theologians, Newcome, Greswell, Macbride, etc.—TR.]

the one that a Divine Revelation, the other that the history of a Human Personality holding intercourse with other men, may actually exist and be recognized therein. Now wherever two sides are thus united to form one Organic Whole, a relation must exist between them: and in order that each may receive its due, it must be possible to view them at first separately, and then to reunite them again. This is an attempt which, as the experience of the present day has unhappily proved, has not always been made with due circumspection; while if the two sides are treated together, our task becomes exceedingly difficult, nay almost impossible. We have, alas! seen only too often that the position occupied by the Critic towards the Supernatural side has prescribed and determined the view taken not of that side merely, but also of the Natural and purely Historical. In this way mistakes were made on both sides. We have seen that some, overstraining the principle of interpretation that "all is of faith,"—true in itself, but to be applied on proper occasions, and in a proper way—have in an unscientific and uncritical manner taken generally for granted Connection, Unity, the Reconciliation of discrepancies, and this without demonstrating the validity of their assumption, even in cases where it was absolutely required. We have seen also that by insisting on the reality and truth of that which was grammatically impossible, and at variance with context and with history, they have afforded abundant occasions for well-grounded censure, and laid themselves open to attack; so that instead of furthering the cause they wished to serve, they have not unfrequently even exposed it to public disgrace, while they led men to confound the cause itself with their unsatisfactory advocacy of it. At the present time, however, the greatest error has been that of those who, starting from the opposite extreme, have endeavoured by the aid of an unbounded hypercriticism—which, be it observed, is not unfrequently connected with a deficiency of the requisite knowledge—either wittingly or unwittingly to bring the purely historical statements of the Gospels into the greatest possible discrepancy with one another. Their object has been simply to favour their own subjective, philosophical view, by depriving those

discourses and narratives contained in the Gospels which border on the Transcendental, of the protection of a well-established historical framework.

These two tendencies, which I have described in their extremest form, and which in reality touch in many points, and assume the most various aspects, have one error in common, viz. that while in their examination of the Gospels each makes it its object to establish its own exclusive validity, they treat historical criticism in a pretty nearly equally unscientific manner; and this though the cause which leads them to it is perfectly different;—the one holding that criticism is to be subservient to a ready-made dogmatical science, the other that it is to be subservient to a certain fixed philosophical view.

If then this suppression of the Natural and Historical side of the Gospels, in the way just described, is a defect in the scientific treatment of the subject which continually presents itself, and yet one which, through the struggle now being carried on as to the true relation between Faith and Science, and still higher as to Objectivity and Subjectivity in Religion, manifests, and will, almost of necessity, continue to manifest itself; then the attempt to treat this Natural and Historical side, whether in its whole extent, or in one specially important department, by itself, and to the exclusion of all dogmatic and philosophic enquiries, may be considered a suitable and desirable undertaking. This distinct treatment has been attempted in the following pages, inasmuch as every particular of time and place occurring in the Gospels must certainly be set down to the Natural side. And yet since these two elements form one in the Scriptures themselves, if we would treat them aright they cannot remain thus isolated, but must be brought back again to their higher unity. For this, however—which affords a fresh argument in favour of our undertaking—there can be no better preparation than to commence by examining them separately. For in course of this examination each element will be treated by itself, and in its own special and general connection, and that in the surest and most successful manner, because the suitable means are employed, and the desired

object is constantly kept in view ; while at the same time any degree of success in one department will have a highly important reaction on the other, and *vice versâ*. For example, if we succeed in proving that the Natural and Historical side of the Gospels is *bond fide* historical, it cannot fail to have a strong reaction even upon the opponents of the Gospel history, as being a victory won upon the field of "the Natural," their own special Shibboleth, and must furnish a most important augury for its Transcendental side. I shall content myself with bringing forward only one instance of this reaction, in reference to a subject that has of late been warmly discussed—I mean the question of the possibility of the existence of a *Mythical* element in the Gospel history. If any one shall be convinced by the following investigation that the notes of time and place scattered over the whole of the Gospel narratives, which so often appear to be discrepant from one another, and have confessedly been put forth without the smallest intention of deceiving, do really, notwithstanding their number, and their partially incidental character, furnish us with a picture essentially harmonious in itself, and in accordance with historical facts derived from other sources, it will be impossible for him to continue to maintain the existence of any really Mythical element in the composition of the Gospel history, unless he is either ignorant of the meaning of his own words, or shrinks from confronting his previous convictions with the full import of these facts to which he had hitherto been a stranger. Otherwise let it be shewn to be credible, and be supported by examples, that in a knot of persons, by hypothesis occupied with the development of myths, there could possibly arise four works of a mythical character acknowledged to be wholly or partially independent in their origin, which could continue in essential harmony with one another even in the region of the closest numerical calculations.

3. We will now proceed to view the object we have proposed to ourselves in its relation to the construction of the Gospel literature in general. We must regard a "Life of Jesus" as the highest aim in this department of literature, to which however the way must be directly paved

by a discussion of the Transcendental side of the contents of the Gospels. It must be preceded by the investigations which belong to the province of "Introductions," *e.g.* as to the Authors, Original Sources, Age, etc., of the Gospels, and after this, their arrangement in a Chronological Synopsis. These latter subjects it appears to me advisable to treat separately, both because if interwoven with a "Life of Jesus" they would destroy its coherence, and also because it would be impossible to treat them with the proper thoroughness and detail. The works which have at the present day appeared as "Lives of Jesus" have, from this very reason, been in the habit of assuming as proved a definite conclusion with regard to the points above referred to, especially the critical investigation, or at any rate, of rather indicating conclusions they have arrived at than of developing and demonstrating them in their own connection. Nor can it well be otherwise unless these subjects are treated separately. It is however a circumstance to be lamented, and if possible remedied, especially in the present very unsettled state of opinion, that persons should be unable to refer with confidence to any existing book, substantially giving their own views, together with the proofs on which they rest. It will therefore be hardly necessary to say anything further to shew that, from the nature of the case, the above-named investigations, if any one will consent to undertake them, must precede a "Life of Jesus," and the discussions on the Transcendental element of the Gospel narratives which prepare the way for it. I wish however, before I go further, briefly to remind my readers of the influence the result of such enquiries must exercise on the correct representation and establishment of the "Life of Jesus," and thus state the reasons which have led me to undertake the Chronological Synopsis before engaging in such a critical enquiry.

In the first place, the intimate connection of the critical enquiry with the treatment of the "Life of Jesus" is evident. For in this, as in every other Biography, we must satisfy ourselves as to the nature and value of the sources from which it is derived; and inasmuch as in this case these original sources are primarily to be found in the canonical Gospels, we must satisfy ourselves as to the

nature and value of these. And this can only be established by an investigation into the Authorship, Sources, and Age, etc., of each several Gospel.

Further, the chronological synopsis of the four Gospels is of importance for the "Life of Jesus," not merely from furnishing the correct harmony of the Gospels by which alone the facts of our Lord's life can be obtained, and from being itself an investigation of a particular class of those facts, but also because it is identical with the enquiry as to the order of succession in the events of our Lord's life. And since the development of every human life is conditioned by the idea of succession, the results arrived at must for this reason also have considerable influence on the representation of the "Life of Jesus." Now if we were to suppose that it was utterly impossible to arrive at any knowledge of this order of succession, though the true idea of the Personality of Christ might certainly have been conveyed to us, it would naturally be altogether out of the question to speak of its confirmation as an historical verity, and therefore of any narrative that might reproduce His actual life, the unfolding of His Being in time and place, or His development viewed as a succession of influences reciprocally conditioning and calling forth one another. The manifold utterances of His Being recorded in the Gospels would then in their inner historical relation be almost like hieroglyphics, the key to which has been lost; or like fragments of a human body, of which we know no more than that they originally belonged to one and the same individual, but whose organization, from our ignorance of the mode of their arrangement, we were unable to determine with any greater precision, and therefore to place them again in their original historical position. It is only therefore in proportion to the correctness and certainty of our knowledge of the order of succession of the events in our Lord's life, derived from the Gospels, that it will be possible for a Gospel history, composed in accordance with the nature of its sources, to triumph over their unconnected fragmentary character, and sketch out a lifelike and characteristic portraiture of Christ, His Being, and His Work; His Life, and His Nature. To select one or two

only of the most important points :—how can it be possible for any one to develope from the Gospels a correct plan of our Lord's Ministry, and the way in which it was carried out in detail, if he is unacquainted with the order of the events in which this plan was exhibited? Or how can any one depict our Lord's mode of procedure in the various stages of His office as Teacher if he has not first investigated these stages with the utmost care? But since while determining the order of succession we are at the same time enabled to determine with greater accuracy the Character, Tendency, and Purport of certain periods of our Lord's ministry, we should also, in conclusion, probably obtain in this way special criteria for deciding whether certain apparently similar narratives in the several Gospels are really identical or not; whether other occurrences, related perhaps by only one Evangelist, can really have happened at the time stated or not, and other similar points.

It still remains for us to discuss the question why we have undertaken the Chronological Synopsis *before* the critical enquiry, which we have spoken of. The opposite course might perhaps have been rather looked for. For it would seem that an investigation into the authorship of the Gospels and their credibility, would *à priori* throw a very important light on the presumptive nature of the chronological statements they contain. And yet, on the contrary, the investigation may be well commenced with the chronological enquiry. For while, as a preliminary step, we leave these critical enquiries still undecided, we can still carry on our investigation into the Unity and Truth of the notes of time and place given by the Gospels, and then avail ourselves of these results to proceed to the consideration of those critical enquiries. And this is the course which on several accounts we propose to adopt. Partly in order that, in the midst of the general want of agreement on the critical question, we may bring into the field a new, and powerfully convincing form of demonstration, already fully and separately investigated, and to secure it to the utmost of our power from the abuses which, as it appears to us, not unfrequently spring up together with it. Partly, because we are of opinion that

the difficult questions, belonging to the province of "Introduction," with respect to the Composition and Special Object of the Gospels, and the reasons of the peculiar affinity existing between the so-called Synoptical Gospels, would admit of a totally different answer when once we had found ourselves compelled to come to a definite decision with regard to the contents and limits of the several periods in our Lord's Life. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that some portions of the present work, especially when the Gospel of St. Matthew is treated of, will necessarily transgress the limits here laid down, and enter on enquiries rather appropriate to an "Introduction." This can however hardly be deemed a defect in the arrangement we have adopted; for these topics can only be discussed here in connection with the whole chronological enquiry, and consequently from a novel point of view. The conclusions hereafter arrived at may then meet with a still more complete establishment in the so-called critical investigation in a stricter sense, to which we refer our readers who are inclined at present to withhold their agreement.¹

The course we have here adopted in giving the priority to the Chronological Synopsis is, in conclusion, further commended to us by the fact, which though not indeed directly based on the organization of the literature of the Gospels, is yet certainly well worth consideration—that this department is one which at the present day is much overlooked and neglected, and therefore has a first claim to be drawn out of its obscurity.

III. WHAT THE RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION REQUIRES, AND ITS POSSIBILITY.

However important, desirable, and necessary it may be to determine the dates of the Gospel facts, in the sense

¹ Although the chronological synopsis appears here as an independent work, I consider my task not merely connected closely and organically with the portions of Gospel literature mentioned above, but intend, if God will, to bring out the other works belonging to this department, viz., *A Critical Introduction to the Four Gospels*, and *A Life of Jesus*. [These belong, and it is to be feared are likely still to belong, to the list of *unwritten books*.—Tr.]

indicated above, it must first of all be asked whether this is possible, considering the nature of the accessible sources. The literature of the present day viewed generally appears far from favourable to the idea of its practicability. And yet the doubts which this might at first give rise to will be materially modified if we take a closer view both of the manner in which the chronological enquiry has hitherto been conducted, and also the peculiar difficulties which it has had to contend with, either *per se*, or arising from a way of looking at the Gospels generally, which either wittingly or unwittingly has given them this bias.

In the present enquiry, as indeed must be the case in any intricate investigation connected with the New Testament, we have the difficult task of presenting the contents of the New Testament pure and unmixed with the views and traditions of later times; and consequently, when seeking to determine the former, we are exposed to the danger of being led astray by the manifold forms assumed by the latter, and their partial error. These difficulties and this danger have never yet been met with perfect success. Besides, even if our whole attention is directed simply to the investigation of the statements of the New Testament, many *à priori* hindrances of various kinds arise to defeat our object. In the first place, success cannot be calculated on unless the chronological problem be undertaken to the full extent, and yet within the limits specified above. For it is not till the statements of the Gospels are considered as a whole that their chronology loses the vagueness, uncertainty, and difficulty which must in a still higher degree attach to special enquiries, and finds its full confirmation and warranty: nor is it until the whole compass of the four Gospels has been subjected to a chronological investigation, that we can with any security set up a chronological standard for the individual Gospels, or even for those passages in them which possess a chronological value; while, without this strict limitation of our enquiry to the chronological and historical department, extraneous influences and insufficient arguments may easily intrude themselves, and disturb our line of proof and its conclusions. In the second place, it is evident how powerful an influence any view of the

Gospels, either critically or historically erroneous, must have on our decision as to their chronological character, while experience has given us ample proof of the difficulty of a correct determination of these two problems. For there are certain views of the critical relation of the Gospels which will not only prevent our arriving at any correct arrangement, and consequently any solution of the chronological problem; but also, as the author knows from his own experience, our even conceiving that such a solution is possible. Nor will the result be different even if we start with the hypothesis that the Gospels are almost entirely of an unhistorical character. In the third place, it is an essential pre-requisite that the qualifications of a Chronologist and Exegetist should be united in the person who undertakes to solve the chronological problem. He must be a Chronologist in order that he may be able to comprehend and profit by the previous labours of scholars in this particular department, as well as to appreciate them duly, and when necessary correct them. To do this aright it is almost essential that he should be master of the Semitic languages, that he may be able independently to examine and decide on the data given by Jewish chronology, and the calculation of the Jewish year, which are of so much importance in this enquiry. He must also be an Exegetist, in order that he may be able to decide accurately on the import of the chronological materials contained in the New Testament, and make a proper application of chronological calculation to them. These requisites, as might be shewn by many examples, have been but seldom united in a single person; a fact which explains the unsatisfactory results of the undertaking hitherto. The greatest services have been rendered to the chronological side of the Gospel history by such men as Scaliger,¹ Petavius,² Ussher,³ Bengel,⁴ Sanclemente⁵—men whose faith was still unshaken in the historical character of the Gospels,

¹ Joseph Scaliger, *de Emend. Temp.* Par. 1583, Gen. 1629.

² Dionys. Petavii *de Doctrin. Temp.* Par. 1628, Antv. 1703.

³ *Annales V. et N. Tset. auct.* Jacob. Usserio. Gen. 1654 and 1722.

⁴ J. Bengelii *Ordo Temporum.* Stuttg. 1742, ed. 3, 1770.

⁵ Henric. Sanclementii *de Vulgaris æræ Emendatione, Lib. iv. Rom.* 1793.

and the complete harmony of the accounts given by them severally. But since this mode of procedure rested partly on an insecure basis—viz. on erroneous critical and exegetical premises, and a false harmonistic method, while the science of chronology has since their time made considerable progress, and several dates now well established were not determined till after their time, and in some degree by means of other departments, *e.g.* Numismatics, Astronomy, and Jurisprudence, they were unable, notwithstanding the great acuteness and astonishing learning they brought to bear on their work, to arrive in every case at satisfactory conclusions even in the very points investigated by them. And yet though this be so, the works of these writers still furnish a rich mine of chronological materials, and have deserved a more general recognition from theologians. More recently, some writers in the department of Chronology or Astronomy, as Ideler¹ and Wurm,² have made very valuable contributions to our means of determining certain important dates in the Life of our Lord. And yet, even their conclusions cannot be considered quite satisfactory, partly because they confined their investigations to particular points—*e.g.* the year of our Lord's birth, and that of His death—and partly, because they neither availed themselves of the whole of the exegetical materials accessible, nor always made a correct use of those they did employ. Still we must acknowledge ourselves much indebted to them for the establishment of several dates by means of astronomical calculations. Men's minds, however, had been long estranged from studies of this kind. This estrangement had its commencement in the middle of the last century, when the historical character of the Gospels began to be depreciated, and was materially increased by the investigations into the critical relations of the first three Gospels to one another (*e.g.* the hypothesis of an original Gospel, etc.) which were prosecuted with so much eagerness towards the end of the century. But even if the amount

¹ Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, Berl. 1825-6, and *Lehrbuch der Chronol.* Berl. 1831.

² *Astronom. Beiträg. zur genährten Bestimm. des Geburts-und-Todesjahrs Jesu.* Bengel, *Archiv.* Vol. II. pt. 1, p. 2 ff; pt. 2, p. 261 ff.

of attention bestowed on that preliminary critical enquiry had allowed sufficient leisure for such a work, the conclusions already formed would have precluded them from undertaking any investigation of this kind.¹ - Nor was it in accordance with the general spirit of the age to treat the "Life of Jesus" in any special and comprehensive scientific connection. The only materials for obtaining a clearer understanding of such a subject were fragmentary notices in commentaries and separate treatises. Hase² was the first to introduce "A Life of Jesus" as a special branch of study into theological literature. And when at a later period Dr. Strauss published his celebrated critical work, *Das Leben Jesu*, one cause of the sensation, not to say alarm, it caused in the minds of many was the fact that the branch assailed by him was still in its infancy. The circumstances of the time demanded a speedy and comprehensive refutation, in which the Dogmatic element of the Gospels demanded principal attention. This is the explanation of the fact that even in replies of such acknowledged excellence as those of Neander, Tholuck, Krabbe, etc., the chronological element has been treated quite as a subordinate question; and naturally enough, since not only had this element been generally much neglected up to this time, but even Strauss himself, to refute whom was their first object, had assigned to the chronological data—perhaps because it was almost self-evident how little support his theory could derive from them—a very inferior value. The contributions of more recent days to New Testament chronology in its wider sense, are almost exclusively confined to what Anger³ has published in his very profound work. But in this work the subject specially treated of is the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels are only introduced

¹ This remark is not intended to apply either exclusively or specially to the rationalistic school. On the contrary, one of their most distinguished representatives—Paulus of Heidelberg—has confessedly treated the chronological question in several of his works, especially his *Exegetical Handbook to the first three Gospels*, with more care than it has received from any previous writer in modern times.

² *Das Leben Jesu*, by Dr. Karl Hase. Leipzig. 1829, ed. 3, 1840.

³ *De Temporum in Actis Apostol. ratione*, Lips. 1833.

to secure a well established starting-point for his calculations, by determining the date of the year of our Lord's death. This then being his object, Anger had no reason to try to elucidate or demonstrate the order of succession of the events recorded in the Gospels, either in their exact connection or with the necessary fulness.

It follows therefore, from what we have adduced, that if the prevailing doubts as to the chronological character of the Gospels can be satisfactorily cleared up in the way we have mentioned, and yet no attempt has ever been made in later times to submit them to a scientific investigation in the requisite connection, and with the aid of the means already accessible,—if also the authors of the Gospels were, as at least tradition asserts, either actual Apostles, *i.e.* eye- and ear-witnesses of the facts recorded, or disciples of the Apostles, and therefore able, if they desired to do so, to narrate the several events of our Lord's life in their real succession,—and if, as is, and indeed from the premises before us *must* be generally admitted, it was their desire to do this at any rate in some particular order, whether more or less precise,—it is surely no unwarrantable conclusion that there is no *à priori* reason for questioning the possibility of an attempt to determine the chronology of the Gospels conducted in the manner we have already stated.

IV. POINT OF VIEW OF OUR ENQUIRY.

Is the Bible to be treated generally like any other book? Is it to be examined with or without any preconceived views? Or are there some portions where such a bias is allowable, others where it is not? If the former, to which class does the subject which we desire to treat of, and the mode in which we propose to treat of it, belong? The question here raised is, as is well known, one that has given rise to much controversy. The replies given to it by expositors of the present day have been most opposite, nor can we pass over so important a matter entirely unnoticed. If the preconceived notions with which we are to approach the Bible include its absolute

freedom from all error, even in non-essentials, we shall find not only many men, but many things contradicting such a notion, formed prior to all investigation. The Church herself, no less than her individual members, has always deemed herself at liberty to enter on *this* enquiry, as is shewn by the decisions passed by her, from the earliest days, on the sole source of true life, the Canon and the Canonical in the Canon.¹ When any one obstinately pushes his dogmatical view of Inspiration to such a length, he is certainly bound to render the man who has a real acquaintance with his Bible a reason for his assertions. Exaggerated claims of this kind can have no effect but to weaken truth itself, and the estimation in which it is held. For the most part nowadays when people speak of a preconceived notion, and freedom from preconceived notions, something entirely different is intended.

When these terms are now used, the question implied is whether in the interpretation of the Scriptures the reality of the supernatural element contained therein is generally to be assumed, through the direct assurance given us by Faith, or if, on the contrary, its reality and existence are to be denied. On the other hand, it is perfectly evident that we can only speak of a state of indifference in an expositor towards the "Substance of Faith" contained in the Bible, so long as it has to do with the historical understanding, and not with the appropriating and verifying for ourselves of that which is historically understood. By the phrase "Substance of Faith" we understand, in accordance with the nature of Christian faith, whatever in the Bible essentially belongs, either more indirectly as in the Old Testament, or directly as in the New, to the Image of Christ, as the One, Eternal, Universal Redeemer of mankind, and possesses the power of presenting this Image to the mind and conscience of a receptive reader with perpetually increasing truth and distinctness. In reference to this Element of Faith we can speak of a perfect freedom from all preconceived notions, *only* as

¹ Cf. Chrysostom. *Præf. ad Matth.*: εἰ δὲ περὶ καιρῶν ἢ τόπων διαφόρως ἀπήγγειλαν, τοῦτο οὐδὲν βλάπτει τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν ἀλήθειαν... ἐν τοῖς κεφαλαίοις καὶ συνέχουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν ζωὴν οὐδαμοῦ τις αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ μικρὸν διαφωνήσας εὑρίσκεται.

regards the way in which it is to be understood historically. And yet even in this department of mere historical comprehension he will *cæteris paribus* be the best interpreter who can livingly reproduce in himself, in his own experience, the truths presented to Faith by the Scriptures, and can interpret them to others. But as soon as the question arises of their reception into his own life and consciousness it is impossible for him not to enter upon it with the preconceived notion either of belief or unbelief in a Christ of this character. This being so he cannot enter upon it free from preconceived notions. In the one case he substantially assents to the truth of the Scriptures, in the other he substantially denies it.

As long as Christian Faith—which the Consciousness of the Church regards as essentially the effect of the operation of God, and therefore supernatural—retains the assurance of its own truth, and is not resolved to pronounce its own condemnation, there is no other way in which it can conceive of interpreting the Scriptures offered to Faith, except in Faith; i.e. in the assurance of the complete redemption wrought out by Christ for every individual believer, as well as for all believers of every age. This assurance sealed inwardly by the Spirit of God to his spirit is to him both the key of the correct understanding of the Scriptures, and also the confirmation of them when understood. And this with the same right by which every one in any department of concrete human knowledge refuses to allow any *à priori* reasonings to destroy his belief in the facts which are as directly cognizable by the personal experience of all if they choose as by himself; while, on the other hand, he measures their truth by their agreement with this universal experience, and its power of explaining and establishing them scientifically. No claim indeed is made either by belief in the Scriptures, or the faith conformable thereto reproduced in a living member of the Church, to be by itself any general scientific system; they only supply the inalienable facts of Faith, which are to be fashioned into a general scientific system by the power of thought. Nay, even the enlightened religious thought which may have truly comprehended the facts of Religious Faith, and received them into itself without any curtail-

ment of its own powers, can never so take the place of Faith as if that were either useless or to be dispensed with. Such an assertion would be as idle as to fancy that a flower can preserve all its life and freshness when severed from the root, while it is from that it must continually derive its living power and faculty of development. On the contrary, to require that the true expositor of Scripture can be and ought to be without Faith, or rather because an absolute indifferentism is founded on self-deception, and is from the nature of the case impossible, *opposed* to faith, rests upon a twofold positive defect, each side of which mutually supplements the other. *Theoretically*, on the assumption that Religion is originally a science, and that of an imperfect character, not a practical and fundamental tendency of the religious affections; an hypothesis which would naturally depreciate the facts of religious experience, and rob Religion of its independence of Science, and compel it thenceforward to borrow its clearness and truth from its scientific development. *Practically*, on the decay and weakness of the Religious sense; for if religious experience is wanting—if in a man's own breast there is no consciousness of his need of redemption nor of the satisfaction of his earnest longings for Redemption, neither the value nor the truth of religious Faith can be known or estimated as they deserve. And thus the axiom is verified, "Ex nihilo nihil fit."

It is at the same time certain that the mistaken demand for an absolute freedom from preconceived notions, would not have met such general acceptance, in spite of this fundamental defect, unless a degree of truth lay concealed in the error: and it is the assertion of this often misconstrued portion of truth—onesided though it be—that furnishes the advocates of this demand with their just claim to attention from a scientific point of view. We of course refer to the other element of Holy Scripture, existing side by side with the Supernatural element, or element of Faith; I mean the Natural and Historical element. In so far as Holy Scripture postulates in its expositors the verification of the religious truths it contains, it must certainly presuppose that they possess Faith and Christian Experience. And yet it well deserves notice,

that even in this respect we can only speak of Faith as a prepossession, because and so long as persons exist who have either not at all or not fully attained to a living Faith in the Redeemer; while on the other hand, within the circle of real Christians it is impossible to speak of a prepossession of Faith for the special object of scriptural exposition, since the very being of a Christian consists in viewing *everything* with the eye of this very Faith. If the day therefore shall ever arrive when *all* men shall have attained to perfect ripeness in religion, the "perfect man in Christ Jesus," when Christian faith and the formation of the Christian character shall have become the chief good of the whole human race, then, and not till then, will it become universally impossible for us to speak of a prepossession of faith in the case of any single spiritual operation, such as that of the understanding of Scripture.

We must however remember that even this Supernatural element of Holy Scripture has its Natural side. It includes a considerable number of facts and narratives, either really or apparently at variance with one another; it is set forth by different individuals; and finally is composed in a language which has a definite meaning. The critical process of taking a general view of Holy Scripture, and definitely determining on its actual contents, lies almost entirely in the department of freedom from preconceived notions. For it is to a considerable extent identical with what we called above the historical understanding of Scripture. Still more decidedly does the treatment of the Natural and Historical side of Holy Scripture belong to this department, and that entirely, both as regards the determination of the contents, and its further confirmation. Certainly, even in this mode of treatment, no little is presupposed in the Expositor—learning, acquaintance with the original language, penetration, the power of combination, familiarity with contemporaneous works, and the like. But inasmuch as we are wont to make the same requirements generally in the case of the expositors of any book, and this is done even by those who feel themselves obliged by their religious views to regard the requirement of faith in the consideration of Holy Scripture as a special preconceived notion;

it follows that we are justified in dissociating the two elements in the examination of Scripture—claiming for the latter the predicate of Freedom from preconceived notion, and for the former, though in the manner above mentioned, the preconceived notion of faith, until in the course of time even this preconceived notion, being taken for granted by all expositors, come to be regarded as itself freedom from prepossessions. The erroneousness of this demand that the expositor of Scripture should be entirely free from all preconceived notions appears to me to be proved by the fact that while the Church is still in process of development, Scripture offers two separate sides to its interpreters, and not only so, but also one side in treating of which the postulate of faith can hardly signify any else than the absence of scientific proof.

It is evident that the province of our chronological synopsis will be the treatment of questions belonging to the natural and historical side of Scripture. For who in establishing a date would dream of saying "thou believest not, and therefore thou dost not perceive the truth of this date?" It follows therefore that the whole treatise belongs to the department of Freedom from preconceived notions. And this is the meaning of the more exact definition appended to the title "A contribution to the Apologetical literature of the Gospels on the basis of Freedom from preconceived notions."

In proportion, then, to the ease with which men of all shades of opinion, who are really engaged in seeking for the truth, may unite in prosecuting the following investigation, is the fervency of our wish that such may really be the case, in order that we may see all that is inadmissible and defective in it gradually modified and improved, and that from the basis which we have thus in common reached we may continually advance with firm footsteps to other and higher enquiries.

V. PRINCIPLES OF THE UNDERTAKING.

In prosecuting our enquiry the most essential point will be to determine the correct mode of procedure, and to confine it within its proper limits. This will of course

be determined by the chronological character of the separate Gospels, and their relations to one another. Thus we obtain the following principles for our work.

(1) When we take a general view of the chronological character of the four Gospels, there can be no doubt, indeed it is generally admitted, that the most numerous or at least the most exact chronological dates and *fulcra* are furnished by John and Luke. John, as is well known, narrates the whole period of our Lord's public ministry in connection with His journeys to Jerusalem for the purpose of keeping the different Feasts,¹ omitting no single Passover occurring during this period, and even mentioning the one which was not kept by Him in Jerusalem.² He has therefore, by the very form of his narrative, furnished us with just such a scheme as we should most desire, in which to arrange the individual Gospel facts. While Luke not only supplies us with several special dates of the greatest importance (e.g. ii. 1, 2; iii. 23; Acts i. 1, 3, and particularly Luke iii. 1, 2), but has in his preface expressly stated his intention of narrating the events he was about to record in this chronological order (*καθεξῆς*).³ We find the same precision also in their

¹ Joh. ii. 13, v. 1, vi. 4, vii. 2, x. 22, xii. 1.

² Joh. vi. 4.

³ The interpretation of *καθεξῆς* given by Ebrard in his otherwise able and meritorious work, *Wissenschaftliche Kritik d. Evangel. Geschichte*, is quite erroneous. His view, grounded perhaps on despair of attaining chronological accuracy, is that *καθεξῆς* is not to be interpreted in a temporal sense, but as giving the Evangelist's purpose, viz. as contradistinguished from the *πολλοί*, v. 1, of writing a narrative with a regular arrangement, and free from all confusion. The basis of his arrangement he believes to be not *order of time*, but the classification of the facts recorded. It is certainly true that it is not *necessary* to understand *καθ.* by itself of order of time. But, even apart from the more general scope of the Gospel, it must certainly be so understood here. It stands in immediate intimate connection with *ἀνωθεν*. This must, without all doubt, be interpreted in a temporal sense, "onwards from the beginning;" and consequently the temporal force of *καθεξῆς* is also determined. This mistake respecting the fundamentally chronological character of Luke's Gospel must exercise an important influence on the whole chronological question: to which must be added that the author thought it possible to obtain a strict sequence of events, without treating the several—in the restricted sense—chronological data thoroughly and in their entire connection. We trust that the results of our investigation will prove that the sense attached by us, in common with the great majority of commentators, to *καθεξῆς* is the true one.

notices of locality. Such being the character of these two Gospels, it naturally follows that in such an enquiry as ours, we must regard them, when compared with the other two, as on the whole our proper guides, and as decisive of any question that may arise between them. Besides, the possibility of arriving in this way at a sound conclusion is increased by the fact that the Gospel of Luke has such an infinite number of points of contact with those of Matthew and Mark, that the three are combined under the common title of Synoptic Gospels, so that there can be hardly any difficulty in arriving at the chronological character of the other two Evangelists, at least by way of approximation, from that of Luke. But the more fully these fundamental principles of our undertaking are established in the course of our work, and the more clearly they lead us to a connected system of the succession of events in our Lord's Life, the more complete will be the dependence to be placed on them, and the more certainly will the chronological character of all four Gospels in every individual passage be recognized.

(2) It is certainly true that not even John and Luke in their chronological method thoroughly and entirely satisfy modern demands for precision and detail, or even, perhaps, the subjective wish of the Christian to have as well defined an image of Christ his Saviour as possible; and that on the contrary, we must be content with finding many facts in the catalogue of events defined by such expressions as *μετὰ ταῦτα, τότε, ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις*, etc., without enabling us to fix the day and precise date of their occurrence. And yet that which the individual Evangelist has not consciously given us, is often to be derived from a combined survey of the definite particulars, scattered up and down among all four, and that whether they have or have not been made with an express chronological purpose; *e.g.* the narrative of the Star of the Wise Men, Matt. ii. 1 ff.; the mention of Herod's reign, *vv.* 1, 13; and of that of Archelaus, *v.* 22; the *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*, Luke vi. 1; the "forty and six years" of John ii. 20; the *τετράμηνος*, John iv. 35; the statement of the day of the week on which the first day of the Passover fell, and on

which our Lord was crucified, the ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν, Luke iv. 19; the three years of Luke xiii. 7, etc. Occasionally we even find events of considerable importance arranged in their order of succession in days, so that we are either able to arrange them with the utmost exactness (*e.g.* John i. 19—ii. 11; τῇ ἐπαύριον, i. 29, 35, 44; τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ii. 1), or since one link of the chain has an universally recognizable date, we may fix that of the other links also with the utmost chronological precision, *e.g.* the chronology of Passion week, from the earliest times so dear to Christian consciousness. And should we, even with all these aids, be still unable to determine the exact day of the occurrence of many events, we must bear in mind on the one hand, that though the day cannot be fixed, we may still be able to fix the year, and perhaps even something more; and on the other, that to require the fixing of the exact day is a demand which even in modern times none but actual diaries can satisfy; while for the historical comprehension of any human life, such a minute, I had almost said painful, accuracy is entirely unnecessary. For this purpose indeed, the most important point is to discover the order of succession of the several events of the life, and consequently their appropriate position in connection with its entire development, that thus we may be able to point out with as much certainty as possible the internal law of this development, its direction and progress. This order of succession is however by no means merely identical with the ability to determine the exact day and date of each event, and may therefore be attained, where the latter is unattainable. We shall therefore content ourselves with laying down two principles. (1) Never to seek to determine a date with more—but certainly not with *less*—precision than the data before us really warrant: (2) to distinguish between the real value of our conclusions, and to employ them when arrived at, according to their greater or less degree of certainty.

(3) So far however as the course we propose to adopt necessarily presupposes the synoptical treatment of all four Gospels, as so many original sources of the Gospel history, we must make it our aim to conduct this comparison and general view or Synopsis in an appropriate

manner. Now a mistake was committed principally by the older harmonizers, in which they have been followed by some also of modern times, in insisting on the *unity* at the expense of the *individuality* of the Gospels. But while due account was not taken of their individuality, the result was necessarily a forced and therefore a false unity; or at least one which the mode of treatment adopted failed of establishing, and which consequently could not fail to awaken a suspicion of its truth. After this arose the opposite extreme of treating the Gospels separately, at the expense of their unity, which of late years, in proportion to the growth of a disinclination to accept the historical credibility of the Gospels, has led men to deny the possibility of their reconciliation. The right mode of proceeding consists, on the other hand, in a just union of the two methods, the separate and the comprehensive. It is only when the investigation is carried on at the same time as to what the particular *data* can and do mean in the context of the Gospel in which they stand, that it is possible to determine whether, and if so how far, the apparently corresponding *data* in the other Gospels do really correspond; as well as whether, and if so how far they aid in establishing, extending, or rectifying them; and though such a method may at first sight appear to render the reconciliation more difficult, yet, if that can be really attained, it must in truth greatly forward it. The relation thus existing between that which is peculiar to some and that which is common to all the Gospels gives rise to a phenomenon within them, of great importance in an apologetic point of view, though it must be confessed frequently employed in controversy. For instance, the sections in Matthew and Luke containing the so-called "history of the childhood of our Lord;" together with other similarly related sections of the synoptical Gospels which we shall subsequently investigate, set before us, generally, the individuality of these synoptic Gospels, as decidedly, but not more so, than on the other side their higher identity is proved by the sections which are evidently common to them all, the number of which is certainly far greater. We shall find this recurring, only conversely, when we

come to treat of the relation of John's Gospel to those of the Synoptists. For while far the larger part of John's Gospel, when compared with the corresponding sections of the Synoptists, bears the evident stamp of originality, there are yet other sections, as the history of our Lord's Passion, which must convince even the most superficial observer of their higher unity. From this it follows that the four Gospels form only one single, great Gospel, or, to adopt a very significant expression of the Fathers, "*the Gospel*," τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, which presents to the comprehensive observer, in fourfold delineation, each mutually supplementing the deficiencies of the others, a living, and in a higher sense single, Image of Christ. Thus their peculiar features give to the individual Gospels fulness, life, and colouring, while so far from the proof of their historical credibility being damaged, the fact of their existence, on the contrary, supplies their most striking confirmation. Had not the several Gospels differed *apparently* from one another in greater or less degree, we might have been tempted to trace them all back to one and the same source, on the nature of which the whole proof of their historical credibility would have depended; while, on the other hand, since the respective individuality of their narratives declares them to be so many individual sources, they must, since the weight of their testimony is strengthened by their number, and in the same degree in which the diversity which still apparently remains so considerable, results, on a nearer view, in a substantial unity, furnish a still more decided warrant for the truth of each single statement.

(4) In seeking to establish the data which prove the unity of the Gospels we shall base our demonstration on the New Testament itself, without attaching any special value as proofs to the traditions which have grown out of it. Our object will be to guard our whole investigation from being complicated or frustrated by traditional statements, in great part either uncertain or false. At the same time, while maintaining this critical attitude towards tradition generally, we shall gladly welcome anything by which the facts we have already derived from the New Testament may receive further proof and confirmation. It

is evident, however, from the nature of the case, that such confirmations are to be looked for principally in those periods during which traditions relating to the Gospel history could still have been derived from original and unadulterated sources, in addition to the narratives contained in the New Testament—that is, in the very first-ages of the Church, to which the subsequent period was referred equally with ourselves, while the synoptical mode of treating the subject then adopted, as is well known, suffered under many, and not unimportant, defects.

(5) It will conduce to the attainment of the object we have in view, if we divide the entire narrative of the Life of Jesus as given in the different Gospels into separate Sections, with the view of treating the narrative furnished by any one of the four Evangelists, belonging to any such Section, by itself, as well as in connection with the other Sections. These Sections, so far as is consistent with the nature of the Gospels, must not be too large, that so by its limitation it may furnish as exact a chronology as possible, nor too small, so as to facilitate the comparative arrangement of the facts recorded in the different Gospels. These limits, moreover, must when possible coincide with turning-points in our Lord's history, and also furnish epochs when the separate threads of the Gospel narrative as given by the different Evangelists, evidently unite again, and must admit of precise chronological determination, so that when employed as *termini* they may impress a character of chronological precision on the intervening periods.

If we pay due regard to each of these requisites we may, I think, divide the Gospel History into the following six Sections.

SECTION 1. The history of our Lord's Childhood. Luke i. 5—ii. 52. Cf. iii. 23—38. Matt. i. ii.

SECT. 2. From the first public appearance of John the Baptist, and then of our Lord, to the imprisonment of the Baptist, and Christ's return to Galilee, after His journey to the Feast of Purim. Luke iii. 1—iv. 13; Mark i. 1—13; Matt. iii. 1—iv. 11; John i. 19—v. 47.

SECT. 3. From our Lord's return to Galilee to His journey to the Feast of Tabernacles. Luke iv. 14—ix. 50; Mark i. 14—ix. 50; Matt. iv. 12—xviii. 35; John vi. 1—vii. 1.

SECT. 4. From our Lord's journey to the Feast of Tabernacles to His last regal entry into Jerusalem. Luke ix. 51—xix. 28; Mark x. 1—52; Matt. xix. 1—xx. 34; John vii. 2—xii. 11.

SECT. 5. From our Lord's regal entry into Jerusalem to the day of His Crucifixion and Burial. Luke xix. 29—xxiii. 55; Mark xi. 1—15, 47; Matt. xxi. 1—xxvii. 61; John xii. 12—xix. 42.

SECT. 6. From our Lord's Burial to His Ascension. Luke xxiii. 56—xxiv. 53; Acts i. 1—11; Mark xvi. 1—8, 9—20; Matt. xxvii. 62—xxviii. 20; John xx. 1—31—xxi. 1—25.

The examination of each of these Six Sections singly and in its connection with the others will be the object of the following work, in which it will be our aim to discuss every point which can aid us in investigating and determining the time and place at which the events they recorded occurred, as well as their credibility.

SECTION I.

THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF CHRIST.

THE birth and childhood of our Lord are narrated by only two of the Evangelists, Matthew and Luke.¹ These two Evangelists, and indeed the Synoptists generally, are accustomed to narrate the events of the same period with a remarkable identity of statement, which indeed is sometimes almost verbal. Here, however, we notice a decided discrepancy. The credibility of the history cannot, it is true, be affected by the additions made by Luke, the more pragmatic historian, to the narrative of Matthew—*e.g.* the birth of John the Baptist, our Lord's forerunner, and the circumstances attending it, as well as his subsequent development up to the period of the commencement of his public ministry²—our Lord's journey when a boy of twelve years old, to the Passover at Jerusalem, and the mention which follows of His growth "in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man"³—or lastly, his introduction of our Lord's Genealogy in a different place.⁴ And yet at first sight it is somewhat startling that the very same events—*viz.* the Birth of Christ, and its immediate details—should have been narrated by them, with a considerable degree of apparent discrepancy.⁵ The truth of this remark will be specially apparent if we compare Luke ii. 1—40 with Matthew ii. 1—30. We have however seen above⁶ that an apparent

¹ Matt. i. 1—ii. 23. Lu. i. 5—ii. 52. Cf. iii. 23—28.

² Lu. i. 5—25, 39—80.

³ Lu. ii. 41—52.

⁴ Lu. iii. 23—38. Cf. Matt. i. 1—17.

⁵ Lu. i. 26—38; ii. 1—40. Cf. Matt. i. 18—ii. 23.

⁶ *Introd.* p. 29.

discrepancy, if capable of being proved to be a real identity, only furnishes an additional confirmation of the truth of the facts narrated; and with this single remark, we will now proceed to our proposed task, viz. the investigation of the notes of time and place of our Lord's birth, and their inner connection with one another, and with similar data in subsequent parts of the Gospel.

Our enquiry divides itself into three heads:

- (1) Where was Christ born?
- (2) When was Christ born?
- (3) In what order did the events recorded in this Section follow one another?

The conclusions we may arrive at with regard to the first two enquiries are essential to enable us to determine the third. But they are more than this. They will be found to possess a more general value, and to influence questions lying beyond the limits of the present Section. This will, we think, sufficiently justify our treating them separately, and in the order proposed.

CHAPTER I.

WHERE WAS CHRIST BORN?

To the enquiry as to the birthplace of Christ both Matthew and Luke reply "in Bethlehem, the city of David, in Judea."¹ Luke adds that the New-born Child was laid "in a manger," *φάτνη*, because, in consequence of the concourse of people who had come to Bethlehem for the census, His parents could find no room in the inn; and were therefore obliged, probably in common with many others of the poorer sort, to take up their quarters for the night in a stable.² Some of the Fathers have accepted the fact that Mary was delivered in a cave, while on her journey to Bethlehem, and in the vicinity of the town.

¹ Lu. ii. 4; Matt. ii. 1.

² Another proof of their poverty is proved by comparing Luke ii. 24 with Lev. xii. 8.

But this is a mere apocryphal story,¹ perhaps originating from a desire to give an outward expression to the beautiful idea that the new-born Saviour had come as "Light in the Darkness:" Justin Martyr, however,² traces the origin of the tradition to the erroneous rendering of Isa. xxxiii. 16, by the Septuagint.³

Notwithstanding this perfect agreement of the two Evangelists the correctness of their account has been called in question. This suspicion is chiefly grounded on the fact that if the Messiah was really born in Bethlehem, an Old Testament prophecy would have been fulfilled,⁴ while every such prophecy is *à priori* pronounced impossible. Could we have a more striking perversion of the true principles of interpretation, when the very arguments that ought to serve for the confirmation of the Gospel narrative are employed for its overthrow? However we shall not at present avail ourselves any further of this argument, since it belongs to the dogmatical division of the subject; and we purpose to adhere strictly to the line of demarcation already laid down between the dogmatic and the historical.

Let us then hear the historical and exegetical objections of our opponents. They say it is quite true that Matthew agrees with Luke in fixing the Birth of our Lord at Bethlehem, but that the former also places His parents' original residence there, while Luke places it at Nazareth,⁵ and only brings them to Bethlehem as temporary sojourners for the purposes of the taxation. No objection could arise from Matthew's not having spoken of Nazareth as the original residence of our Lord's parents *before* his second chapter, if he had done so afterwards. But so far from this, he seems expressly to forbid our regarding Nazareth

¹ *Protevang. Jac.* c. 18.

² *Dial. c. Tryph.* c. 78, p. 304.

³ Neander, *Life of Christ*, p. 23, ed. Bohn, thinks it "more likely that the prophecy Isa. xxxiii. 16 was applied to this tradition after it arose than that the tradition arose from this prophecy." [The passage from Isaiah runs thus in the LXX.: Οὗτος οἰκήσει ἐν ὑψηλῇ σπηλαίῳ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς. Justin's words *l. c.* are, ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης.—TR.]

⁴ Micah v. 1. Cf. Matt. ii. 6.

⁵ Lu. i. 26, 56; ii. 4, 39.

as their earlier home, by assigning the accession of Archelaus as a special reason for their going thither on their return from Egypt instead of to Judea. For the only reason that could have induced our Lord's parents to return to Judea instead of going to Nazareth must have been that Matthew regarded Judea as their home. The conclusion therefore is, that Luke makes *Nazareth*, Matthew *Bethlehem*, the original residence of Mary and Joseph. And on this point a reconciliation between the Evangelists is impossible. While the uncertainty which thus arises in determining where Joseph and Mary originally resided, throws suspicion on the fact in which they certainly do agree, viz. that our Lord was born at Bethlehem, which stands in close connection with the former.¹

The arguments of which we have given a summary, are the most important which have been brought against the credibility of this portion of the narrative. They rest however entirely on the assumption that their view of Joseph's original inclination to return to Judea, is correct. But even if it be possible to decide a point of this kind, where nothing is expressly stated by the Evangelist, it can only be done by an examination of the context, and the general character of the Gospel. A very little clearness of thought however will discover other equally possible reasons;² and this may well make exegetists cautious, especially since there is no discrepancy between the Evangelists on the main point of the enquiry—our Lord's birth-place. Still let us examine Matthew's words more closely. He employs two different words when speaking of Joseph's original intention of returning to Judea to settle there, and of his going "into the parts of Galilee."³ In the former case

¹ On this point Strauss, of course in consequence of his freedom from dogmatic prejudices, since otherwise the prophecy of Micah would have had its fulfilment in Christ, has come to the positive conclusion that our Lord was born *not in Bethlehem*, but in Nazareth. This is one of the very few features of the historical Christ that has survived the processes of his philosophico-mythological chemistry.

² Ebrard, p. 261, brings forward several reasons why Joseph and Mary might have seen good grounds, even before their flight into Egypt, for settling at Bethlehem, when they had once taken the journey thither from Nazareth.

³ Matt. ii. 22.

he uses ἀπελθεῖν; in the latter ἀναχωρεῖν. The word ἀπελθεῖν, which signifies "to depart," "go away," not "to return," does not give the least intimation that Joseph had previously resided at Bethlehem, though if Matthew had really thought so he could hardly have avoided expressing it, especially as he had mentioned in the same chapter that our Lord was born there, and that it was from thence that Joseph and Mary started on their flight into Egypt. At the same time we have no objection to admit that there was no actual necessity for his doing this, since, in accordance with his plan in narrating the life of Christ, it was more important for him to shew that our Lord's birth at Bethlehem had fulfilled the prophetic marks of the Messiah, than to tell us what was the original dwelling-place of His parents.¹ Only let our opponents be equally fair on their part, and not require that if Matthew agreed with Luke in regarding Nazareth as Joseph and Mary's original place of residence, he must have expressly stated it. This however he would have really done if we could venture to render ἀναχωρεῖν in v. 22 by "return." But though this meaning is to be found in various lexicons (e.g. that of Wahl), it does not appear to be deducible either from the ordinary use of the word, or from its use in the New Testament generally, especially in Matthew. In every passage in which the word occurs,² we find the classical meaning "to withdraw," "to retire," (i.e. "from human society," "from active or public life," "from dangers," "from any business or trade,") quite satisfactory.³ The passage adduced by Wahl, οἱ μάγοι ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν,⁴ might at first sight appear to support the meaning "to return." But even in this passage the usual meaning affords a perfectly satisfactory sense; for

¹ Ebrard (p. 264) objects justly enough that Strauss, "starting on the absurd hypothesis that the Evangelists must have made it a principal object to furnish the most minute details on matters of no religious importance, such as time and place, finds contradictions everywhere."

² We may refer to Matt. ii. 14, iv. 12, ix. 24, xiv. 13, xv. 21; Mark iii. 7; John vi. 15; Acts xxiii. 19, xxvi. 31.

³ It is remarked in Stephani Thesaurus that Demosthenes uses ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἶκον for "to return home," not ἀναχωρεῖν simply.

⁴ Matt. ii. 12, cf. 13.

the Magi did actually *withdraw*, i.e., as the context shews, from Herod. That ἀναχωρεῖν was also a *return* depends entirely on its connection with the words εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. This interpretation of ἀνεχώρησαν, v. 22, is unquestionably the most favourable that the word can bear for our enquiry; and yet I accept it, because I consider it the right one. Still even in this case all that can be asserted is that Matthew has not told us whether Nazareth was or was not Joseph's original residence: and nothing but partizanship can see in Matthew's words a distinct intimation that it was not so. The enquiry into the reasons which led Matthew to ascribe to Joseph an intention to settle in Judea, on his return from Egypt, and to speak of a "turning aside" into Galilee, is entirely independent of this conclusion. Taken by itself, we may certainly attribute this to the fact that Joseph had been domiciled in Bethlehem for a *considerable* time before his flight into Egypt: but it can hardly be said that this is a reason which would naturally occur to any one who was not already inclined to assume a discrepancy between Matthew and Luke. Certainly it is not necessary. There are, as we have already remarked, many other conceivable reasons; and one especially which would admirably agree with the character of the Evangelist. This has already been advanced by Heidenreich,¹ viz. "that it must have appeared to our Lord's parents most appropriate that the Son of David who had been vouchsafed to them should be brought up in the city of David." And certainly it is only the ignorant who can be deceived by Strauss' exclamation, "What officiousness to foist into the text that which the text does not contain, because persons are determined not to acknowledge that which it does contain, viz. a contradiction!" And where, pray, in Matthew's text do we find Strauss' assumption that Bethlehem was Joseph's original place of residence? Surely this assumption stands in the same category as the conclusions of Heidenreich and others, and originates in the desire

¹ Über die Unzulässigkeit der Mythischen Auffassung u.s.f. i. p. 101. "On the Inadmissibility of the mythical View," etc. Quoted by Strauss, i. p. 318.

to explain Joseph's original design of settling in Judea on his return from Egypt. And if we grant that these assumptions stand so far forth in the same rank, that each furnishes a reason for this inclination of Joseph, yet that put forward by Strauss and his friends appears to a decided disadvantage, as being nothing but mere assumption, since we do not find it expressly stated anywhere in Scripture that Joseph was originally domiciled in Bethlehem, but on the contrary, the exact reverse. Besides, it admits of direct historic proof that about the Christian era the idea prevailed that it was impossible for the pillars of the Theocratic state—the Prophets, and above all, the Messiah—to live and labour anywhere but in Judea. This is explained, most naturally, from the history of the people of Israel, which evidenced that the very being of the Theocracy, especially subsequent to the Captivity, was bound up with the kingdom of Judah and the Temple service at Jerusalem. Thus our Lord Himself said to the woman of Samaria, *ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν*.¹ Surely this too is the only satisfactory mode of explaining why St. Paul reckons among the prerogatives on the possession of which as a Jew he might boast² that he was sprung from the tribe of Benjamin (*φυλῆς Βενιαμίν*), since this tribe always maintained unbroken union with the kingdom of Judah. Further, the contempt with which the genuine Jews regarded the Samaritans as a mongrel people, who had no share in the true worship of God, is well known.³ The Galileans also were regarded by them much in the same light,⁴ and among them the people of Nazareth appear to have been the most despised.⁵ Moreover, since at that period, the orthodox Jewish life reached its highest point in the kingdom of Judah, and multitudes of pious Jews, from all parts of the world, to satisfy their religious instincts, resorted to the one Temple in Jerusalem, especially at the chief Festivals, a strong belief could hardly fail to arise among them that any one who was called to place himself

¹ John iv. 22.² Phil. iii. 5.³ John iv. 9; viii. 48.⁴ Acts ii. 7.⁵ John i. 47.

at the head of the religious movement, whether as a Prophet or as the Messiah, would choose the sacred soil of Judea, in the immediate neighbourhood of the great and much frequented Sanctuary, as the scene of his life and ministry. On this account the brethren of our Lord style His ministry in Galilee a working "in secret" (ποιεῖν ἐν κρυπτῷ), and call upon Him to quit the province and go up to Judea that He might "shew Himself to the world" (φανέρωσον σεαυτὸν τῷ κόσμῳ).¹ Judea therefore was, in their view, the proper theatre for the display of His ministry as a Reformer and as the Messiah, if indeed His claim were a true one. The Jews at Jerusalem, also, who interpreted our Lord's words as meaning that He purposed to leave them and go and preach elsewhere, said mockingly,² μὴ εἰς τὴν διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων μέλλει πορεύεσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας; and finally, the High Priests and Pharisees made answer to the counsellor Nicodemus when he took our Lord's part in their assembly,³ "Art thou also of Galilee?" (*i.e.* dost thou too hold with the Galileans, which would be suitable enough for a Galilean born?) "Search" (in the Scriptures) "and look, for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet."⁴ Indeed the whole plan and development of John's Gospel can hardly be rightly understood, unless we assume that one object the Evangelist had in view was to shew that although our Lord was called to His Messianic office in Galilee, He at once directed His ministry to the salvation

¹ John vii. 3—5.

² John vii. 35.

³ John vii. 52.

⁴ It may appear strange (cf. Bretschneider, *Probab. de Evang. Joann. indol. et orig.* p. 99 sq.) that the Pharisees, learned in the Scriptures, should have made a statement concerning the Prophets at variance with them. For it is probable that as many as three Prophets, Jonah, Elijah, and Nahum, were born within the boundaries of the district known in our Lord's days as Galilee. But it is not unusual for arrogance and party spirit to be rash in its assertions. And with regard to two of them, Elijah and Nahum, even in early times tradition was not perfectly unanimous. It may have been however that they did not mean to assert anything about the *birthplace* of the prophet, but simply to deny that any of them had entered on his work, or manifested himself first as a prophet in Galilee (the word ἐγείρειν certainly indicates the prophetic call): if so, their words might certainly be reconcilable with the facts.

of the people of Judea, whom, on this account, he prefers to designate according to their fundamental character, as οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι; and that it was not until they had manifested the most decided opposition, and their hatred had advanced to such a point as to lead them to resolve on putting Him to death, that He was driven to undertake the ministry in Galilee which is specially described by the Synoptists, and that with the view of finally yielding up His life in the Jewish Metropolis, at the Feast of the Passover, in order to set the seal to His work and to make an atonement for all. Now since the first Gospel was confessedly composed originally for the Jewish Christians, it was quite natural that the Evangelist should make it clear to his readers that it was entirely due to the special circumstances of the time that Christ was not brought up in Judea, as was expected of the Messiah, but in the despised province of Galilee, nay in Nazareth itself. This appears also to be intimated in the words ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας, "He turned aside into the parts of Galilee,"¹ for Galilee they represent as an obscure mean abode, in contradistinction to a residence in Judea, before the eyes of all and in accordance with His character as Messiah.² We see thus that Matthew has never once either directly or indirectly stated that Bethlehem was the original dwelling-place of Joseph and Mary, and that consequently in the sections of Matthew and Luke now under review, there is not to be found a single incidental statement which can with any justice throw suspicion on their unanimous declaration that Bethlehem was the place of our Lord's birth.

If therefore both the Evangelists agree that our Lord was born at Bethlehem, consistency will oblige us, wherever they speak of Him as a "Nazarene," or generally in

¹ Matt. ii. 22.

² See Matt. iv. 12, where the same word, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, is employed to describe our Lord's return from Judea into Galilee: also ἐν κρυπτῷ ποιεῖν, John vii. 4. In the former passage indeed it is possible, though, considering the fundamental character of the Gospel referred to above, hardly probable, that the word may be interpreted of our Lord's withdrawing Himself from the snares of the Jews.

connection with Nazareth,¹ to attribute to them the intention of pointing out Nazareth as the place where He was brought up and passed His youth: as indeed they both expressly state.² This being so, any one who knows anything of the close connection between Mark and the other two Synoptists will at once allow that the same holds good with regard to the passages in which he speaks of Jesus in connection with Nazareth,³ especially as there was no necessity for his distinguishing between our Lord's birthplace and that where He was brought up, since, as is well known, he has entirely omitted the narratives relating to Christ's birth and childhood. We must however submit the passages in John's Gospel to a closer examination, especially since at the present day his agreement with the Synoptists is the very last thing to be assumed *à priori*.

After what has been already stated we cannot be surprised if we find our Lord spoken of in the fourth Gospel, as well as in the other three, as a "Nazarene," and of "Nazareth."⁴ The expressions are to be similarly interpreted. The only ground for hesitation would be, if he had anywhere expressly excluded Bethlehem as our Lord's birthplace; and this some have imagined they could prove from John vii. 41, 42. The Evangelist is here, as elsewhere, depicting the different impressions made on his hearers by the Words and Person of our Lord, for the purpose of shewing how certain of them, under the influence of the Sanhedrim where the Pharisees had most power, allowed themselves to be hurried into violent measures. So we read (v. 40), "Many of the people therefore, when they heard this saying, said, 'Of a truth this is the Prophet' (v. 41). Others said, 'This is the Christ.' But some said, 'Shall Christ come out of Galilee? (v. 42). Hath not the Scripture said, That Christ cometh of the seed of David, and out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?' (v. 43). So there arose a division

¹ Matt. ii. 23, xiii. 54, xxvi. 71; Lu. iv. 16, xviii. 37; Acts ii. 22, iii. 6.

² Lu. iv. 16; Matt. ii. 23.

³ Mark i. 9 24 vi. 1, xiv. 67.

⁴ John i. 46, xviii. 4, 7, xix. 19.

among the people because of Him (v. 44). And some of them would have taken Him, but no man laid hands on Him." It is argued that the speakers in vv. 41, 42 appear on the one hand to take our Lord's Galilean origin for granted, and on the other expressly to deny that He was born at Bethlehem. I will not now press the argument that the words probably have nothing at all to do with Bethlehem as the *birthplace* of the Messiah, and that on the contrary the ἄλλοι appear to take offence at our Lord's having first come forward as the Christ in Galilee, instead of proceeding direct from Bethlehem; even as David, the type of the Messiah, was called from Bethlehem to be King of Israel.¹ This view may be supported by observing that Bethlehem appears to be cited by the relative clause *ὅπου ἦν Δαυὶδ*, "where David was," as the place of the Messiah's *abode*; while, if His *birthplace* had been intended, this must have been indicated more precisely by the words *κώμη ὅθεν ἦν Δαυὶδ*, "whence David was." But even if we allow that the words have reference to Bethlehem as the Messiah's birthplace, can any conclusion be drawn from the fact that there were some Jews to whom He was only known as the "Nazarene," and not also as the Bethlehemite? Strauss himself is reasonable enough to allow that on the expression of doubts of this nature, which perhaps never reached His ears, and at any rate were not directly addressed to Him, our Lord was not called on to break in and explain how the truth really stood. "But," says he, "if John had not entertained the same opinion with them, he would certainly have added some remark in way of refutation or explanation, as he has done at verse 39." "*Might* have added," he ought to have said. And yet what necessity was there for his doing this? John himself describes these as the words of strangers, and even enemies to Christ: and could any reader really imagine that the Evangelist made himself answerable for the truth of such statements?² Besides, it being John's object to depict the life of our Lord, he is not in the habit of appending

¹ 1 Sam. xvi.

² See Joh. vii. 52, and compare p. 36, note 1.

any remarks of his own in explanation or confirmation of the words of any but Christ Himself,¹ except in cases where he can shew how even His enemies were compelled under a higher necessity to help forward the fulfilment of the Divine purpose.²

But the fact of most importance in this enquiry is that John has himself in a particular passage expressly confirmed the statement of the Synoptists that our Lord was born at Bethlehem. I refer to the much canvassed passage, John iv. 44. It is certainly true that the prevailing interpretation of this verse refers *ἰδία πατρὶς* to Galilee, or at any rate to a place in Galilee, Nazareth. And yet the ablest commentators who have adopted this view have laboured ineffectually to explain how the word *γάρ* connects this verse with v. 43, and to shew its connection generally with the verses that precede and follow it. Meyer's view is that v. 44 contains the reason for our Lord's having allowed so long an interval to elapse before returning to Galilee. But to say nothing of the fact that it is on the contrary a leading purpose with John to shew what circumstances influenced our Lord to carry on His ministry at such an early period and for so long a time in Galilee, to the seeming neglect of the inhabitants of Judea, the main subject of the passage, and consequently the leading idea which has to be explained by *γάρ*, is only brought in at v. 43. Tholuck assumes that "the causal *γάρ* sometimes precedes the clause, the cause of which is to be assigned. John's object may have been to give his reason for mentioning the friendly reception given Him by the Galileans, viz. that our Lord had on a former occasion testified the contrary of His native country."³ The causal *γάρ*, however, can hardly ever be allowed to precede, as in this instance; and even if that were conceivable, we could extract no satisfactory sense by placing v. 44 after *ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι*. This is only the case if the idea of a quotation is interpolated, and the principal emphasis laid upon it. Olshausen refers to v. 46

¹ See Joh. vii. 39, also ii. 21, 22, viii. 27, xi. 13, xii. 33, xviii. 9, etc.

² Joh. xi. 51, xix. 32, compared with xix. 21, 22.

³ *Commentary on John's Gospel*, pp. 144, 145 (Clark's ed.).

for the clearer definition of εἰς τὴν Γαλ., "He went to Galilee, i.e. to Cana and not to Nazareth." But how can it be allowable to complete a sentence arbitrarily from that which follows, and then add the key-words "not to Nazareth" entirely out of one's own head? When we come to εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν in v. 43 the same additions would be equally necessary, or at least we ought to find *Kanā* instead of Γαλιλαίαν. For the words ὅτε ἦλθεν are immediately followed by ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν, i.e. by the mention of the friendly reception given our Lord by the Galileans; while without doubt Nazareth was a city of Galilee. My revered preceptor also, Dr. Lücke, who in the second edition of his Commentary had interpreted *ἰδίᾳ πατρίς* of Judea, in his third edition understands it of Galilee. His mode of interpreting the verse is as follows: "For He Himself (not merely others who had made the experiment) testified (whether then or previously is not stated) of the Galileans that a prophet, etc." His view is that the whole sentence is to be taken independently of v. 43 as a preliminary explanation referring to the whole of the following narrative: which seems to be very harsh. Besides, if we take the words thus generally, can we say that they express the truth? Can it be said of Galilee in particular that Jesus had no honour there? Lücke urges that our Lord did not meet with the proper kind of honour from the Galileans. "On His return from Jerusalem," he says, "the Galileans gave Him a friendly reception, but only on account of His miracles which they had seen in Jerusalem at the Feast, not as a Prophet on His own word." But if such a censure was intended, would it have been expressed in such words as those of v. 45?

But why is it necessary that we should understand the words either of Galilee or Nazareth at all? The chief argument for this is certainly that the same verdict is pronounced by our Lord, according to the Synoptical Gospels, on Nazareth.¹ And yet this will scarcely hinder us from examining the sense in which the proverb is used in John, since he is certainly the best interpreter of his

¹ Lu. iv. 24; Mark vi. 4; Matt. xiii. 37.

own words. Besides, if the parallel passages in the Synoptical Gospels are to be considered decisive, we should be driven to adopt Olshausen's view, and interpret *πατρίς* of Nazareth, and not of the whole of Galilee.¹ Let us, therefore, examine the context in John. The connection of the sentences shews that the *γάρ* in *v. 44* must supply the reason for our Lord's going to Galilee, *v. 43*. Surely, then, we may well think that the very last place that can be identified with the *πατρίς*, the contempt of which led Him to leave it and depart to Galilee, is Galilee itself. We arrive at the same conclusion when we consider that it is not till *after v. 44* (*i.e. v. 45*) that we read of what took place on the arrival of our Lord at Galilee (the clause *ὅτε οὖν ἦλθεν εἰς τ. Γαλ.* must evidently be immediately connected with *ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Γαλ.*), and also that, as we learn from *v. 45*, it was by the Galileans themselves that He was honoured and gladly received (*ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν*).

Having then excluded Galilee, let us consider whether what immediately precedes will allow us to interpret *πατρίς* of Samaria. This was certainly the district of Palestine, in which our Lord was sojourning at the time there referred to, and from it He passed direct into Galilee.² But though the name *Σαμαρείτης* is on one occasion applied to our Lord in contempt,³ we find nothing in the Synoptists nor in John, to indicate that He was born or brought up in Samaria. Besides, it is impossible that Samaria can be intended by the *πατρίς* here spoken of, inasmuch as He had tarried there scarcely more than two days, and had been gladly welcomed by the people of the place, *vv. 39—42*; while the woman of Samaria with whom He conversed at Jacob's well calls Him "a Jew," and expresses her surprise that He should ask drink of her, *v. 9*. Besides,

¹ Further on in this work we shall see that the contemptuous treatment which, according to the Synoptists, our Lord met with in Nazareth, which led to His applying to Himself the proverb of the Prophet, must be placed at a later period than the journey into Galilee related by John here.

² See the opening words of *v. 43*, *μετὰ δὲ τὰς δύο ἡμέρας. . . ἐκείθεν*, the explanatory words *v. 40*, and the detailed account of our Lord's journey through Samaria, *vv. 4—42*.

³ Joh. viii. 48.

the journey through Samaria is spoken of merely as one He "needs must" take, v. 4, inasmuch as it lay on the road, while all mention of the province itself is entirely omitted, both at the beginning and the end of the narrative, since it was merely the middle stage of the journey.

Since then neither Galilee nor Samaria can be identified with the *ἰδία πατρίς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, it follows that the place intended must have been Judea.¹ The sense of the passage according to our interpretation, suits Judea perfectly, "*Jesus went out of Judea into Galilee, for Jesus Himself testified* (viz. by the reception given Him) *to the truth of the proverb, 'A prophet hath no honour in his own country.'*" The same reason, viz. His rejection by the dominant party in Judea, i.e. the Pharisees, is also assigned by John, at the beginning of the chapter,² for our Lord's leaving Judea for Galilee, while we see from John ii. 23—25, as well as from the fact that Nicodemus was compelled to go to Him for instruction by night,³ what was the nature of His reception at an early period of His ministry.

The importance given by John to representing Judea as the original object of our Lord's ministry—the reason of which we have already seen—is clearly indicated by his seeking once and again to give the grounds of our Lord's determination to leave Judea for Galilee.⁴

¹ [Wieseler's conclusion will hardly meet with general acceptance. Cf. Bp. Ellicott, *Historical Lectures*, p. 133, note 1: "That *πατρίς* does not refer to Judea (Origen and Wieseler), but to Galilee, seems almost certain from the mention of *Γαλιλαία* both in the preceding and succeeding verses. The force of the *γὰρ* is however less easy to decide on, but is perhaps to be sought for in the fact that our Lord stayed so short a time with the Samaritans, and avoided rather than courted popularity." See in illustration of this Joh. iv. 1, 3, and cf. Maurice, *Gospel of St. John*, p. 137. Meyer's explanation of this difficult passage is to this effect. Our Lord having received no honour in His own country, Galilee, had left it in order to announce and substantiate His prophetic character at Jerusalem; and now the obstacle being removed and the credentials secured, He returned, and the Galileans received Him, having witnessed the miracles that He had done at this feast. It has been truly remarked that few points in the Gospels are so difficult as the exact reference of St. John's use of *γὰρ*. Cf. also Ewald, *Chr.* p. 172; Tischendorf, *Syn. Ev.* p. xxvi.—Tr.]

² Joh. iv. 1.

³ Joh. iii. 1, 2.

⁴ Joh. iv. 1—3, 43, 44.

Besides, if our interpretation be accepted, all discrepancy between John and the Synoptists is removed, since the proverbial expression, "A prophet hath no honour in his own country," becomes nothing more than a remark of the Evangelist, while according to the Synoptists it was spoken by Christ Himself. It is some encouragement to us to find that even such unprejudiced writers as Dr. Schwegeler¹ have identified *Ἰδία πατρίς* with Judea. He, however, is of opinion that Judea is so called, not as being our Lord's birthplace, but as the country where, according to John's view, He had spent a considerable time: very much, that is, as the Synoptists apply the same term to Nazareth. But when we remember that, even according to John's narrative, our Lord had not spent more than about three quarters of a year in all in Judea, between the commencement of His ministry in Galilee and the date of the events recorded, John iv. 44, and that without ever settling down there, but leaving it just as His duties as a Teacher might require, and consider that even if a residence of so short a duration and unsettled a character could have made Judea His *πατρίς*, the proverb clearly could not have been applied to a *πατρίς* of this kind, we must designate such an expedient a mere subterfuge to avoid the necessity of exhibiting too favourable an evidence of the harmony, and therefore of the credibility of the Gospel history. If then we may conclude that Judea is really meant in this passage, and that as being the country of our Lord's birth, it follows that John, as well as the Synoptists, must have regarded Bethlehem as His birthplace. Certainly no one has even yet dreamt of claiming this for any other Judean town. And this testimony of his is strengthened if possible, if we suppose the writer of the Gospel to be the Apostle John, since he was "the disciple whom Jesus loved," during His life upon earth,² and who subsequently received His mother to his own home,³ and was also, through his mother Salome (the sister of our Lord's mother), first cousin to Jesus,⁴ and therefore, must

¹ *Theol. Jahrbuch von Zeller*, Part I. p. 164.

² Joh. xiii. 22—25.

³ Joh. xix. 27.

⁴ See my article, "The Sons of Zebedee, Cousins of our Lord," *Stud. u. Critik*. 1840, Part III. p. 180.

unquestionably have known where Jesus was born. It also deserves remark, that the words which, interpreted naturally, decide the point, occur only incidentally and entirely without any such design, and (to refer to the objections of certain critics) without any direct reference to Bethlehem, or to the prophecy of Micah, which gives them so much offence.

We may add that the majority of the Fathers of the Church agree in the view that Nazareth was Joseph's original place of residence, while Bethlehem was the home of his family and the birthplace of Jesus: so Justin:¹ Ἀνελήλυθεν (Ἰωσήφ) ἀπὸ Ναζαρετ ἔνθα ᾤκει εἰς Βηθλεὲμ ὅθεν ἦν² ἀπογράψασθαι ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς κατοικούσης τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην φυλῆς Ἰούδα τὸ γένος ἦν: where however Credner³ is supposed erroneously to consider Bethlehem as the birthplace of Jesus, but not as the home of Joseph's family.

CHAPTER II.

WHEN WAS CHRIST BORN ?

THE enquiry as to the year of Christ's birth is one of very considerable importance for the chronological arrangement of the present section, as well as of the Gospel history in general; and inasmuch as this epoch, from the time of Dionysius Exiguus, i.e. from the sixth century, has been taken, as is well known, for the starting-point of the Christian era, it has repeatedly received a thorough investigation. With the view of making our progress sure, we propose *first* to treat of the *year* in which

¹ *Dial. c. Tryph.* 78.

² Cf. Luke ii. The words ὅθεν ἦν seem to me to be explained by γάρ. If Credner's interpretation were correct, nothing more would have been added than that the home of His family was also the place of His birth.

³ *Beitrag. zur Einleit. in das N. T.* i. 217.

Jesus must have been born, and then *in the second place* enquire whether anything can be accurately determined with regard to the *month* and the *day*.

In the first place therefore let us enquire in what year Christ was born. The first year of our chronology, dating from the birth of Christ, or of the Dionysian era, corresponds with the year 754 A.U.C. according to the chronology of Varro,¹ or 4714 of the Julian period. Dionysius indeed, as Ideler,² following Sanelemente, has pointed out, placed the birth of Christ at the close of 754 A.U.C.; and his view has lately been adopted by Hase,³ even though he is unable to accept the credibility of the Gospel narratives. However, at the present time there is an almost universal conviction of the erroneous-ness of this date. Let us examine into the grounds of this general rejection, and then enquire whether a better can be substituted for it.

We have in our Gospels four *data* on which our discussion is based. (1) The reign of King Herod, the father of Archelaus;⁴ (2) the appearance of the Star of the Wise Men, and their arrival at Jerusalem;⁵ (3) the Census in Judea under Augustus;⁶ (4) the thirty years of our Lord's age at the commencement of His ministry. The first, third, and fourth of these data alone have the definite object of fixing a date; and as they are all to be found in Luke's Gospel, we have at once an evidence of the stricter chronological character of his narrative. The accuracy of the conclusions which we derive from the separate consideration of these four data will depend on their agreement: and if all our investigations lead to one and the

¹ Here and throughout our work we calculate according to the years from the building of Rome (A.U.C.) in order that we may have a fixed standard distinct from the birth of Christ, by which to measure the real years of Christ. The years A.U.C. can be readily transformed into years of the erroneous but universally accepted Christian era. [The rule may be thus given—if the year A.U.C. be less than 754 subtract the years from 754, and the remainder will be the year B.C.: if the year be not less than 754 subtract 753 from it, and the remainder will be the years A.D.—Tr.]

² *Handbuch der Chronol.* ii. 383. Ideler's learned investigation of this question deserves to be generally consulted.

³ *Leben Jesu*, ed. 3, p. 49.

⁴ Matt. ii. 1; cf. Luke i. 5.

⁵ Luke ii. 1.

⁶ Matt. ii. 2, 7, 16.

same result, and this be confirmed by a complete chronological system embracing the Gospel history, it will be scarcely possible to question its correctness.

I. *First Datum.* Christ must have been born during the reign of Herod the Great.¹ How long then did Herod reign, and when did he die? The historian Josephus, who as a Jew by birth has on this point a special authority, records² that Herod died in the thirty-seventh year after his appointment as king through Roman influence (*i.e.* by Antony and Octavius by virtue of a decree of the Senate), and in the thirty-fourth year from the death of Antigonus, *i.e.* the commencement of his real sovereignty. This event, which is mentioned *Antiq.* xiv. 14. 5, falls (according to the two notes of time there given, viz. the 184th Olympiad, and the consulate of Cn. Domitius Calvinus (for the second time) and C. Asinius Pollio) in 714 A.U.C., and with this the third note of time agrees, viz. that Herod was raised to the throne by the joint influence of Antony and Octavius (though principally by that of the former), since their reconciliation took place immediately after the death of the haughty Fulvia, *i.e.* according to Dio Cassius,³ at the beginning of 714 A.U.C. On the other hand, the death of Antigonus, and the conquest of Jerusalem by Herod and the Romans, took place, according to Josephus,⁴ in 717 A.U.C.;⁵ and as Josephus expressly tells us, "in the third month,"⁶

¹ Matt. ii. 1; Luke i. 5. ² *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1, *de Bell. Jud.* i. 32. 8.

³ xlviii. 43.

⁴ *Antiq.* xiv. 16.

⁵ Dion Cassius erroneously places the taking of Jerusalem in the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus, *i.e.* 716 A.U.C. See Ideler, *Hdbch. d. Chronol.* ii. p. 390, and Anger, *u.s.* p. 7.

⁶ The passage contains the following notes of time: ὑπατεῖοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανινίου Γάλλου, ἐπὶ τῆς πεμπτῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πουμπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς—καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἐάλωσαν ἡμέρα—μετὰ ἔτη εἰκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ. Anger, p. 191 sq. gives a different month, placing the capture on the 10th of Tisri. His reasons are as follows: (1) Antigonus is said, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 10, to have reigned three years and a quarter in all. Now since his reign began shortly after Pentecost, 714 A.U.C. (*Ant.* xiv. 13. 10), it must have lasted beyond Sivan, 717 A.U.C. This argument is a complete misconception of the principle adopted by the Jews in dating the regnal years of their monarchs, of which more hereafter. According to this principle, Antigonus, even

(Sivan), *i.e.* June or July. In accordance with these data the majority of the chronologers of the present day

if his reign did not begin till Pentecost 714, had reigned three years up to Nisan, 717 A.U.C. Consequently three years and three months would bring us exactly to the third month, Sivan, 717 A.U.C. (2) Anger is of opinion that the words *ἐορτὴ τῆς νηστείας* can only be interpreted of the Fast-day proper, the Day of Atonement, or the 10th of Tisri. But the fast-day mentioned here is expressly stated to have been one in the *third* month, *i.e.* in Sivan, and not in Tisri. The conjectures by which it has been endeavoured to evade this mention of the third month will hardly meet with acceptance. Anger's idea is that the words *τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί*, the month of the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, may have slipped into the text from *Ant.* xiv. 4. 3. This appears to me all the more unlikely, since if taken in the sense it bears in the other passage it would here have no meaning at all. Jost again (*Gesch. d. Israelit.* Vol. i. Appendix, p. 27 sq.) would understand it of the third month of Antigonos. This, however, setting chronology aside, cannot be, since it is the third month absolutely that is spoken of. On the other hand, it is granted that *τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί* cannot possibly be interpreted in this passage of the third month of the siege of Jerusalem by Herod and the Romans, which according to Josephus lasted till the fifth month, because in *Ant.* xiv. 4. 3, we are compelled by the parallel passage *de Bell. Jud.* i. 7. 4, *τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί τῆς πολιορκίας*, to give it that interpretation. But if we interpret *περὶ τρίτον μῆνα* in this passage of the third month of the Jewish year, we should in the parallel passage, considering *τῆς πολιορκίας* as genuine, besides the statement that Jerusalem was besieged up to the third month, which would be presupposed, only receive the additional information that the siege had begun in the first month or Nisan. This agrees perfectly with the narrative of Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 3. 2, where we find that Pompey had commenced his campaign with the first appearance of Spring, *ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων*, and it is very unlikely that his easy expeditions to Damascus and Cælo-Syria could have deferred his attack on Jerusalem to the fifth month, which would be the case if, as Anger supposes, the city was not taken until Tisri, or the seventh month. The principal weight of Anger's interpretation resides, however, in the note of time, *τῇ ἐορτῇ τῆς νηστείας*, which appears in both passages, *Ant.* xiv. 16. 4, and 4. 3, after the mention of the third month. For though after the Captivity the Jews had many public fasts (cf. Winer, *R. W. B.* "Fasten") it has hitherto proved impossible to point out one occurring in the third month, or Sivan. Scaliger, who is followed by Casaubon, contrary to all MSS. reads *περὶ τέταρτον μῆνα*, and Ussher, *Annales ad A. M.* 3940, p. 427, interprets the third month of Kisleu, and, in opposition to Josephus' uniform mode of calculation, makes Tisri, which was certainly the beginning of the Jewish *civil* year, the first month. Anger has been forestalled in his view by Petavius and Stephan le Moynes, *Observationes in V. S.* We may however find means to render the existence of such a fast-day in Sivan credible. In the month of Sivan,

correctly place the death of Herod at the commencement of 750 A.U.C., and only a few (*e.g.* Paulus) in 751 A.U.C. But the writers who have sought to establish this latter date have too commonly overlooked the fact that in his chronology Josephus follows the well-known principle of the Talmud,¹ in reckoning the years of the Jewish rulers from Nisan to Nisan; and that in such a manner that even every single day before and after that month is reckoned as equal to a complete year. Let me bring forward a few examples in proof of this. One example we have already seen in the preceding note in the three years and three months of Antigonus. Another far more striking example occurs in the same passage, where Jerusalem is said to have been taken the same day on which it was taken by Pompey twenty-seven years before. This however took place 691 A.U.C., and the other 717 A.U.C. Consequently, according to the ordinary mode of reckoning, there was only an interval of twenty-six years between the two captures, and Josephus has made a mistake of one whole year in his reckoning.² But we gain just this additional year

161 B.C. the offering of the daily sacrifice was abolished by Antiochus Epiphanes, an unhallowed state of things which lasted till the 25th of Kislev, 165 B.C., when the temple was dedicated by Judas Maccabæus. This gives the three-and-a-half years, Dan. ix. 27, xii. 7, 11, cf. xi. 31, for the *terminus ad quem* of which, this dedication of the temple must be taken. (See my work, *Zur Ausleg. u. Kritik. d. Apokalypt. Litteratur. des A. u. N. T.* 1839, p. 109.) As the Feast of the Dedication was introduced as a memorial of the end of this calamitous period, so the Fast was established for the penitential remembrance of its commencement.

¹ *Gemara Bab. tract. ראש השנה*, c. 1, fol. 3, p. 1. ed. Amstel. אין מניין ליום אחד בשנה שנה חסרה, "non numerant in regibus nisi a Nisano." אמר ר' חסדא לא שנו אלא למלכי ישראל. "dixit R. Chasda: hoc non docent nisi de regibus Israelitarum." Ibid. fol. 2, p. 2. יסין ראש השנה למלכים. "Nisan initium anni regibus; ac dies quidem unus in anno instar anni computatur." Ibid. יום אחד במקום שנה. "unus dies in anni fine pro anno numeratur." Cf. Anger, p. 9, whom however this mode of calculation in Josephus has escaped.

² Anger, it is true, admits, p. 9, "Josephum aliquando vel unum diem post annum plenum pro anno integro sumere," and quotes this example in his note. I do not however see whence he gets the one day more, "annos viginti sex cum die uno," since the passages in

if we reckon according to the rule of the Talmudists, for then the period from the taking of Jerusalem, *i.e.* from Sivan, 691, to Nisan, 692, is equal to a year, and the period from Nisan to Sivan, 717, is again equal to a year, so that a period of not more than one year, according to ordinary computation, becomes equal to two. Again, Josephus¹ reckons from the commencement of the reign of Herod to the destruction of the Temple under Titus, *i.e.* from Sivan, 717, to the 10th of Abi, 823, a hundred and seven years. But according to ordinary computation this period amounts to no more than a hundred and six years, and between one and two months; while if we agree with Anger in placing the commencement of the reign of Herod on the 10th of Tisri, it is not so much as 106 years. But I will not weary my readers with any more examples. The principle may be at once practically verified in the reign of Herod and his immediate successors, and I hope that by its recognition this portion also of the chronology of Josephus will become perfectly intelligible. Let us then now turn back to the two chronological data for the death of Herod which we find in *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1. Thirty-four years after the taking of Jerusalem in Sivan, 717 A.U.C., since the thirty-third year ends before the 1st of Nisan, 750 A.U.C., only brings us to the commencement of Nisan in that year. The same result is obtained from the second datum, *viz.* that Herod died thirty-seven years after his appointment as king in 714 A.U.C., which appointment however we see from the corresponding datum quoted

Josephus tells us that Jerusalem was taken *on the same day*. On this account others who have likewise not adopted the Jewish mode of reckoning from Nisan described above, have boldly written "26 years" for 27 (*e.g.* Haverkamp in his edition of Josephus). Yet even admitting the one day, who in ordinary reckoning would make one day equivalent to a year? The single example adduced by Anger, p. 10, note b, is very plausible, but in my opinion, apart from its being a solitary one, not conclusive. We need only suppose that the words *τῆς ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος πεπληρωκώς*, *Ant.* xx. 7. 1, indicate the Nisan of 53 A.D. to arrive at the conclusion that Agrippa could not have become master of Chalcis before Nisan, 50 A.D. Under this hypothesis he would, according to the calculation we have adopted, have still been, in the month Artemisius 66 A.D. when the Jewish war began, in the 17th year of his reign, as is asserted Joseph. *de B. J.* ii. 14. 4. ¹ *Antiq.* xx. 10.

above, the *terminus a quo* of which can be determined even to its very month (Sivan),¹ cannot at the earliest have taken place before the 1st of Nisan, 714 A.U.C.

An examination of the regnal years of Herod Antipas, and Archelaus, the sons and immediate successors of Herod the Great, supplies a proof of the correctness of this mode of calculation. The former, as has been shewn by Noris,² was banished by Caligula to Lyons, about the autumn of 792 A.U.C.,³ in the forty-third year of his reign.⁴ The forty-third year of his reign began on the first of Nisan, 792 A.U.C., and if from this date we subtract the remaining forty-two years, we shall arrive at the same date, 750 A.U.C., though not later than the first of Nisan of this year.

Archelaus, according to Dion Cassius,⁵ was banished by Augustus to Vienne in the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Arruntius, i.e. in 759 A.U.C.: according to Josephus,⁶ in the tenth, or, as he says elsewhere⁷—deviating a little from the mode of reckoning he usually adopts, on account of the introduction of the dream of the nine full ears—in the *ninth* year of his reign, i.e. after he had reigned nine years and a little over. These nine years reach from the first of Nisan, 750 A.U.C., to the first of Nisan, 759 A.U.C.; and we get the ten years required if he was not banished till after the first of Nisan, 759 A.U.C.⁸ All these data

¹ It would have no effect on this conclusion if we were to adopt Sivan instead of Tisri, for unless Herod's reign began before Nisan, 717, his 34th year would not end before Nisan, 750. In this case, however, the commencement of the 37th year of his reign must also be placed before Nisan, 714 A.U.C.

² *Epistol. ad P. Ant. Pagium de Nummis Herodis Ant.* Opp. II. 646—665.

³ Cf. Joseph, *Ant.* xviii. 7. 2.

⁴ There are three of his coins bearing the inscription ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ L. MR, corresponding to the 43rd year of his reign. Valliant and Galland assert that they had seen another coin with the date MA, but its existence has with justice been questioned. Eckhel, *Doctr. Numin. Vett.* Vol. III. p. 486—489. San Clemente, *De Vulg. Ær. Emend.* III. 1.

⁵ LV. 27.

⁶ *Ant.* xvii. 13. 2; cf. *Vita*, § 1.

⁷ *De Bell. Jud.* II. 7. 3.

⁸ With this the statement of Josephus agrees, *Ant.* xviii. 2. 1, that the census of Quirinus was held in the 37th year after the battle of Actium. This battle took place on Sept. 2, 723 A.U.C. 31 A.D. (Dio

lead to the conclusion that the death of Herod the Great cannot be placed earlier than the first of Nisan, 750 A.U.C., or later than the first of Nisan, 751 A.U.C. Between these two *termini*, however, the day of Herod's death may be still more accurately fixed. The Passover, i.e. the fifteenth of Nisan, occurred immediately after the death of Herod,¹ and before this came the funeral feast of seven days' duration, which Archelaus appointed in honour of his father.² Consequently the death of Herod took place about seven days before the Passover of 750, and therefore in the first eight days of Nisan, 750 A.U.C.³ A remarkable confirmation of this view appears in the fact recorded by Josephus, that an eclipse of the moon occurred a short time before Herod's death.⁴ Now Ideler and Wurm have proved that such an eclipse of the moon, visible at Jerusalem, actually occurred at that time, in the night between the 12th and 13th of March, and according to Ideler⁵ in the night between the 12th and 13th of March, beginning 1 h. 48 m., and ending 4 h. 12 m. The full-moon of Nisan, i.e. the 15th of Nisan, occurred in 750 A.U.C., on the 12th of April.⁶ If therefore, as we have seen above,

LI. 1; L. 10), which would make the 37th year commence on Sept. 2, 759 A.U.C.

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3.

² Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8. 4; *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 1.

³ Some chronologists, e.g. Ussher, *Annal. Vet. et Nov. Test.* iv. A.C. p. 570. Noris, p. 654, relying on the Apocryphal statement concerning the day of Herod's death (*Tract. כִּלְיָהוּ וְכִלְיָהוּ* at the 7th Kisleu), place it on Nov. 25. This is controverted by Ideler, *Handbuch d. Chronol.* Vol. ii. p. 393, and Anger, p. 9.

⁴ *Ant.* xvii. 6. 4.

⁵ *Handbuch d. Chronol.* Vol. ii. p. 392. Cf. Wurm in Bengel's *Archiv*, Vol. ii. p. 54. Wurm, considering that an astronomical datum furnished a basis superior to all doubt, undertook the praiseworthy labour of calculating all the lunar eclipses from 6 B.C. to 1 B.C., and has tabulated the results. He shews that in the year 750 the only lunar eclipse visible at Jerusalem was that already mentioned, and that in 750—the only two years which can enter into consideration for the year of Herod's death—there was not one. The next preceding eclipse of the moon visible at Jerusalem had been on Sept. 15, 749 A.U.C. This supplies another clear proof that Herod must have died at Easter 750.

⁶ See Piper, *De Externa Vitæ Jesu Chronologia recte constituenda.* Gott. 1835, iv. p. 25. I must beg once for all to refer for calculations regarding the Passover to my *Excursus* at the end of the Volume.

Herod died some seven days before this, and consequently at the beginning of April, this note of time would harmonize most excellently with the date of the eclipse of the moon. Since then all these dates combine to prove that Herod died in the first days of Nisan, 750 A.U.C., it follows that since Jesus was born during his reign, His birth must in any case have taken place before Nisan, 750 A.U.C., and therefore the era of Dionysius must reckon at least four years too little. This also is the view now generally accepted by chronologers, though some, Anger for example, are of opinion that the matter is one which cannot be determined with any precision.

II. *Second Datum*, or "*the Star of the wise men.*"¹ The examination of this datum furnishes us with a still more precise result. It must certainly be confessed that this, which we may call "*the Philosopher's Star,*" has often been considered as hopeless of discovery as "*the Philosopher's Stone.*" Yet it is self-evident that a prejudice of this kind, at least in so far as it is nothing more than an *à priori* assumption of the incredibility of the Gospel narrative, should not hinder us from enquiring whether or no it is possible to fix the date of its appearance.

The first question that arises is, whether the narrative itself permits, or even obliges, us to conceive of a single real star, or a group of real stars; since, of course, it is under this hypothesis alone that its appearance can be brought under astronomical calculations. If however, as many suppose, it was a mythical or historical meteor of extraordinary nature, supernaturally created for a temporary purpose, such calculations must be regarded as *à priori* impossible.

But the following reasons plainly prove that the star in question was a real one, to be determined by the aid of astronomy. (1) The star was first noticed and its signification perceived by *Magi*, *i.e.* according to the then acceptation of the word, astronomers or astrologers by profession. But why *Magi*, and why is this designation brought forward so prominently, to the exclusion of every other name, if the phenomenon were one which any un-

¹ Matt. ii. 1—22.

professional observer could have noticed just as well? (2) Besides, in the text there is not a single word to lead us to infer that the ἀστὴρ there mentioned either was, or was spoken of, as a miraculous phenomenon: what right then have we to assume that it was so? (3) Supposing that it was a special miraculous phenomenon, it is evident that it would have been necessary for the Magi to have received an extraordinary revelation to enable them to recognize it as something betokening a birth, and this birth that of the Jewish Messiah. Now there is not a word of any such revelation in the text. Nay, even Herod himself "was troubled" on simply hearing of the appearance of the star at that time, but did not express the slightest doubt that it was necessarily connected with the birth of the Messiah. (4) Further, everything that is said of it leads to the conclusion that it was an ordinary star. This is the purport of the words ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, whether we prefer to interpret them with Ideler,¹ of "the East," i.e. "the Eastern quarter of the heavens," or, as is more probable, "of the rising of the star or constellation" for which ἀνατέλλειν is the ordinary expression. Again, the word προάγειν (v. 9), denoting the motion of the star in the sky in the direction of Bethlehem, to which the Magi too were then going, and the use of στήναι for standing above a country, or a place (v. 9), lead to the same conclusion.² The view that the star was no extraordinary phenomenon receives additional support from the fact that it appeared

¹ Ideler, who identifies the star with a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, interprets ἀνατολῇ of its first occurrence, which took place in the East. As we agree with the view of a conjunction of the planets, we have no positive objection to urge against this. Such a meaning can, however, be hardly elicited from the text. For what connection has the mention of the Eastern quarter of the heavens in v. 2 with the enquiry, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" while, on the other hand, the rising (ἀνατολή) of the star was in the view of astrologers undeniably connected with the birth of the Messiah. The enquiry of Herod, also, concerning the time of τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστέρος may perhaps be explained by this reference to their acquaintance with that ἀνατολή, since their reply to it would depend on the existence of this knowledge.

² Josephus in a similar way says, ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη ῥομφαία παραπλήσιον, *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 5. 3, without wishing to imply that the star remained fixed over the city.

to the Magi not only in their own home,¹ but also subsequently when they were on their way to Bethlehem, which we see, from verse 16, must have been two years subsequent to its first appearance to them.²

The language used in v. 2 enables us to arrive at a still more definite conclusion with regard to the nature of the Star. It is there called the Star of the Messiah (ὁ ἀστὴρ αὐτοῦ, sc. τοῦ βασιλέως τ. Ἰουδ.), and since it was this which had led them to the conclusion that the Messiah had been born, they must have deemed that in an astrological point of view it had reference to Him. Now we know that calculators of nativities foretold the destiny of individuals according to the disposition and course of *real* stars.

For these reasons there appear to be sufficient grounds for holding that the language of Matthew not only allows, but obliges us to base one section of our investigation into the true date of the year of our Lord's birth on astronomical calculations, derived from the appearance of "the Star in the East," recorded by him.

Let us now enquire whether by means of the history of the Messianic expectations then entertained, or of astrology,

¹ Matt. ii. 2.

² It is strange that the words in v. 16, ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω, should have led several writers—e.g. Lardner and Münter—to the belief that Christ attained His second year during Herod's lifetime, and must therefore have been born at least two years before Herod's death. To this it has been with justice answered, that the reason why Herod ordered the children in Bethlehem of two years old and under to be put to death, was not the time of our Lord's birth, of which he could know nothing, but the time that he had ascertained by diligent enquiry from the Wise men, i.e. as we see from v. 7, the time of the appearing of the star. See Anger, p. 10. Herod's bloody decree, therefore, was issued some two years after the appearing of the star, and since this was a short time after the departure of the Magi to their own land, vv. 12, 16, the star appeared a second time to the Magi, after an interval of about two years. I may remark, in passing, that under this view of the passage the objection to the credibility of the account, grounded on the idea that such a decree was superfluously barbarous, since Herod might have been content with the massacre of the newly-born children, falls at once to the ground. For if he connected the appearance of the star, two years previously, with the birth of the Messiah, to make sure of the destruction of the Infant Christ, the children of two years old were the very first to be put to death.

we cannot establish something as to the nature of the ἀστὴρ here spoken of. We learn from *vv.* 2, 3, that Herod was the first person to whom the Magi communicate their tale of the Star they have seen. On this he, having privily, λάθρα, called them, enquires diligently about the time of its appearance (*v.* 7), and gives them directions with reference to the newborn Messiah. However, the idea of a star, as a sign of the birth of the King of the Jews, seems not to have originated with the Magi, but to have already formed a constituent part of the popular belief. For they not only speak of the Star of the Messiah as a matter well known and universally expected,—“We have seen *His* Star at its rising”—while the hearers make no further enquiries as to its connection with the birth of the Messiah; but in consequence of the intelligence brought by the Magi, “Herod and with him *all* Jerusalem”—(*i.e.* even if the expression is used hyperbolically, a large part of Jerusalem, who must therefore have believed in this connection)—were “troubled.” But even if we grant, as indeed we must do, that this narrative proves that the Christology of that age expected the appearance of a star as the sign of the birth of the Messiah, still we do not at all detract from its historical character. Such an expectation was most natural in an age so thoroughly devoted to astrology, and its existence may be proved by reference to history. Winer says in his very elaborate Article:¹ “It is well known that according to the astrological belief of the old world, all extraordinary events, especially the birth and death of men of high rank or distinction, were portended by stars, especially comets, and by constellations.”² That the Jews also connected some celestial phenomenon with the birth of their Messiah, can scarcely be doubted, when we consider the tendency of the age to astrology, and remember from what an early date the prophecy of Balaam³ was regarded as relating to the Messiah, though it is true that we have not any

¹ *R. W. B.*, Art. “Stern der Weisen.”

² Cf. Lucan, i. 529; Suet. *Cæs.* 88; Senec. *Nat. Q.* i. 1; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 5. 3; Serv. *ad Virg. Ecl.* ix. 49; Justin, xxxvii. 2; Lamprid. *Alex. Sever.* 12.

³ Numb. xxiv. 17.

historical proof of this belief in the Star of the Messiah, till after the Christian era.”¹ Besides the passage now before us and some Targums (whose view is shewn by their translation of Numb. xxiv. 17), the earliest authorities are probably the following quotation from the *Testamentum xii. Patriarcharum*,² *Kān ānatelei āstrom aūtou ēn ouranō ōs basilews, phōtizōn phōs gnōsews, κ.τ.λ.*, and the fact of the pseudo-Messiah in the time of Hadrian, having, with special reference to this passage in Numbers, called himself *בֶּרֶךְ כוכבָּא* = Son of a Star,³ and who commanded such remarkable homage from the Jewish people, principally from their belief that Balaam’s prophecy was being fulfilled in him.

In later times this account of the Star received various traditional embellishments, which are to be found in the Apocryphal Gospels, and in some of the Fathers. Of these a learned *resumé* is given by Thilo.⁴

We must therefore accept it as a fact that the expectation of a Star of the Messiah of this nature formed an

¹ He refers to the Book “Sohar and Pesikta Sotarta.” Cf. Berthold, *Christ.* p. 55 sq.

² *Testament. Duod. Patriarch.*; *Test. Levi.* 18. The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs was composed about 100 A.D. (See my work *Zur Auslegung u. Kritik*, pp. 226, 329, note 8.) The tendency of the period to connect the fate of mankind with the courses of the heavenly bodies has been shewn in the endeavour to make the progress and close of human development correspond chronologically with certain definite cycles. The origin of this notion can hardly be made clear without acquaintance with astronomy and astrological notions. In the above work I have tried to throw light on some of the most obscure portions.

³ Münter, *Jüdische Krieg unter den Kaisern Trajan u. Hadrian* (“The Jewish War under the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian”). 1821. I have been unable, after much investigation, to discover any notice of the date of Barcochab’s birth. I may conjecture that since even the celebrated Rabbi Akiba declared for him, and his specific Messianic character was indicated by the surname, “Son of a Star,” to be interpreted by the prophecy of Balaam, that his birth was signalized by the appearance of a constellation, an acquaintance with which could not fail to throw great explanatory and confirmatory light on the account of the Evangelist. If I might hazard a conjecture from the analogy of the Star of the Messiah, he must have been born 847 A.U.C. = 94 A.D., a date which would very well agree with the period of his power as a pseudo-Messiah.

⁴ *Cod. Apocr.* i. p. 390.

integral part of the belief of the Jews at the time of our Lord's birth. Even the mythical view cannot dispense with it, for otherwise the origin of the narrative given by Matthew would be quite incomprehensible.¹

The credit of having been the first to employ the data derived from astronomical and chronological calculations respecting this Star, as the basis of his investigations concerning the year of our Lord's birth, is due to the celebrated astronomer Keppler. Several works were published by him on this subject,² which provoked violent opposition from contemporary authors, *e.g.* Röslin and Sethus Calvisius. The learned Danish Bishop Münter³ was the first to recall attention to the chronological importance of Keppler's view, which had been for a long time forgotten. After which it was again adopted and expanded by the modern astronomers Pfaff,⁴ Schubert,⁵ Ideler, and Encke. At the close of 1603, the very time that a violent controversy was raging among theologians as to the year of our Lord's birth, a phenomenon appeared in the sidereal heavens, which drew this celebrated astronomer into the ranks of the combatants. On the 17th of December of that year there occurred a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn. In the spring of 1604, Mars also came to the same place, and, in the autumn an entirely new body, resembling a fixed star, appeared in the neighbourhood of those two planets at the east point of Serpentarius,⁶ shining at first like a star of the first

¹ Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, ed. 2, p. 288. This author, however, for reasons which it is easy to understand, draws no strong line of demarcation between the Gospel account and later traditions concerning the nature of the Star.

² Keppler's chief works were *De J. Ch. Serv. nost. ver. ann. natalit.* Franc. 1606, and *De ver. ann. quo ætern. D. F. human natur. in Uter. B. V. M. assumptit.* Ib. 1614. He also published at Strasburg, in 1613, a tract now seldom to be met with, giving a detailed history of the controversy in which he had decidedly the better of all his opponents.

³ First in a pamphlet published in 1821, and then at greater length in the often-quoted work, *Der Stern der Weisen.* Copenh. 1827.

⁴ *Das Licht u. die Weltgegenden Sammt einer Abhandlung über Planeten Conjunctionen und den Stern der drei Weisen.* Bamberg. 1821, p. 166 ff.

⁵ *Miscellaneous Works*, Vol. i. p. 71.

⁶ Keppler, *De Nova Stella in pede Serpentarii.* 1606.

magnitude and very bright, but becoming gradually dimmer until in October, 1605, it was scarcely visible, and at last, in March, 1606, had totally disappeared. Keppler, well aware that the astrologers of all times, and therefore certainly also the Magi mentioned by Matthew, attached great importance to the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, which recurs about every twenty years, and knowing that for that very reason they had divided the Zodiac, which it traverses in about 800 years, into four Trigons,¹ he calculated whether such a conjunction had taken place shortly before the commencement of the era at which, according to historical data, the birth of our Lord must be placed. He arrived at the remarkable result that this conjunction had happened three times in 747 A.U.C., and that in the last half of Pisces, near the first point of Aries, while in the spring of the following year the planet Mars also came to the same spot. He therefore argued, that the star seen by the Magi from the East, at the birth of Christ, was identical with the conjunction of those three superior planets,² and that probably an extraordinary star, like that which had blazed forth in the foot of Serpentarius in his own time, was added to the group. Accordingly he placed the birth of Jesus in the year 748 A.U.C. Ideler, pursuing Keppler's view still further, has given us two calculations of the conjunction of the two planets.³ The later, and, in Encke's opinion, the more accurate of these

¹ The four trigons are as follows :—

- 1 Aries, Leo, Sagittarius,
- 2 Taurus, Virgo, Capricornus,
- 3 Gemini, Libra, Aquarius,
- 4 Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces.

The first of these was called the fiery, the second the earthy, the third the ærial, the fourth the heavenly. See J. W. Pfaff, *Astrologia*. Nürnberg. 1816, p. 119.

² It has been objected that Matthew speaks only of a single star, ἀστὴρ, not of a group of stars, ἀστρον. Ideler has replied that the interchange of these two words is by no means uncommon (see for proof of this, Münter, p. 19), while, as Neander and Winer shew, no one can find any difficulty in this, occurring in works intended for popular use. Besides, the expected Star of the Messiah is expressly spoken of as ἀστρον, e.g. cf. Numb. xxiv. 17, LXX. and Test. xii. Patriarch. u. s.

³ *Handbuch der Chronol.* Vol. II. p. 406, and his *Lehrbuch der Chronol.* pp. 428, 429.

furnishes us with the following data to determine the three planetary conjunctions. The first took place on the 29th of May in 21° of Pisces, when the planets were visible in the East before sunrise, and Jupiter and Saturn were only one degree apart; the second, on the first of October, in 18° of Pisces; and the third, on the 5th of December, in 16° of Pisces. Ideler, therefore, as had been previously done by Sanclemente on other grounds, which Ideler accepts as valid, places the birth of Christ in 747 A.U.C.

We are however convinced that the reasons adduced for accepting this date are invalid. For not only is it at variance with the two chronological data we have still to treat of, but it is directly contradicted by the Gospel narrative itself. As we have already seen (p. 59, note 2), the Magi did not visit Bethlehem till *two years* after they had first seen the Star of the Messiah. The supposition that Jesus was born two years before their arrival, though not absolutely impossible if viewed independently, is also excluded by the language of Matthew. For not only does the entire narrative lead us to believe that the Magi came to Bethlehem soon after his birth, *v. 1, τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος... ἰδοὺ... παρῆλθοντο* (cf. *v. 10*), but we also see that Matthew speaks of Bethlehem as merely the temporary dwelling-place of Joseph and Mary, not as their ordinary residence. If therefore the arrival of the Magi must be placed nearly contemporaneously with the birth¹ of Jesus, and yet they did not arrive till two years after the appearance of "the Star of the King," it follows that

¹ As the Star predicted Numb. xxiv. 17 could not have been understood in this peculiar sense, except through a decided astrological tendency, the expectation of the Messiah which this misconception gave rise to cannot be regarded as an actual prophecy. Besides, as the importance of this Star lay in the belief of the Jews of that day, not in the reality of our Lord's life as Messiah, no dogmatic danger can be apprehended from the astrological character of our narrative. Even Strauss, Vol. i. p. 267, reminds us of this, and the Fathers have many reflections upon it. Thilo, *Programma in Sacris Chr. Natal.* Hal. 1834, p. 14—17. If Matthew had regarded this star as the fulfilment of an O. T. prophecy, he would certainly, according to his well-known custom (cf. i. 23, ii. 6, 15, 23, etc.), not have failed to mention it expressly.

since this appeared 747 A.U.C., our Lord must have been born two years later, *i.e. at earliest* in the course of 749 A.U.C.; or, if with Keppler we date from the conjunction of Mars in the spring of 748, *at latest* at the commencement of 750 A.U.C.

We find a remarkable proof of the astrological importance attached to a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, especially in the constellation of "Pisces," such as occurred in 747 A.U.C., in a passage of the learned Rabbi Abarbanel's¹ Commentary on Daniel, entitled *מִינֵי הַשְּׁעָה*, *Wells of Salvation*.² "All changes in this sublunary world," says he, "depend, according to astronomers, on the changes in the positions of the planets; and certainly the most important are portended by the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn." Then he speaks of the trigons already mentioned, and the different periods of the conjunction, which are supposed to exercise sometimes greater and sometimes less influence on the events of the world. Experience alone can determine in which division of the Zodiac the most influential conjunctions take place, but none can have been more important than that which happened in Pisces, 2365 A.M., three years before the birth of Moses. He then endeavours to prove by five cabalistical reasons that "Pisces" is the special constellation of the Israelites,³ after which he gives a general

¹ Not having access to any copy of Abarbanel's work, I quote from Ideler, II. p. 409, and Münter, p. 55. Abarbanel, according to Bartolocci, *Biblioth. Rabbin.* III. 874, 875, was born at Lisbon in 1437, and died at Venice in 1508. He wrote the work I refer to in Apulia. We hear from Münter that Rabbi Chasdai of Alexandria, who lived in the latter half of the eleventh century, also connected the appearance of the Messiah with astrological observations.

² p. 83. Amst., 1547.

³ These five reasons are given in detail by Münter, p. 58. If Pisces was the peculiar constellation of the Israelites, we can understand how it came to pass that the Magi, even though neither Jews nor Jewish proselytes, and though ignorant of the general belief of that age that a great King was to arise in Judea, on the appearance of the important conjunction in that constellation, took for granted the birth of a king of the Jews, and at once set out for Jerusalem. See, however, the proofs of the wide-spread expectation of a Messiah to be found in Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13, and Suetonius, *Vespas.* 4. Suetonius expressly says, "*percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur.*"

survey of the most remarkable events in the world's history, specifying the place of each conjunction.

In conclusion he says: "A short time since (5224 A.M. or 1463 A.D.) there again occurred one of the most influential conjunctions of the two planets in "Pisces," nor can it be questioned that it will prove such as that beheld at the birth of Moses, and will herald the birth of the Divine Man, the Messiah.¹" Now taking into consideration these confirmations of the astronomical theory of the "Star of the Wise men" first broached by Kepler, based on the language of Matthew, as well as on the chronological views of the period, and other documentary evidence still within our reach, I should deem it almost a miracle if it should prove altogether without foundation, and yet more miraculous that, if erroneous, it should still harmonize so completely with the other notes of time for our Lord's birth.

Assuming then that this theory of Kepler's is correct, it follows from what has gone before that Jesus must have been born, neither in 747 nor 748 A.U.C., but not till 749, or at latest in the beginning of 750 A.U.C. The probability of the correctness of this date is much increased if we take into consideration the following computation. Kepler had already hazarded the conjecture that an extraordinary star, like that seen by him in *Serpentarius*, or a comet, might have joined the conjunction of the planets. Ebrard and others adopted this view. Ideler rejects it, but only because it is an hypothesis which, he considers, it is not in the least necessary to call in to our aid. However, viewed astronomically, the appearance of such a star has nothing at all against it. The well-known astronomer, Von Littrow, remarks on it:² "However great may be the revolutions that take place on the surface of those fixed stars which are subject to this variation of brilliancy . . . how different may have been

¹ According to the principle, current as early as the time of Christ, that the Messiah was to be a higher antitype of Moses. Cf. Gfrörer, *Gesch. des Urchristenthums* ("History of Primitive Christianity"), Book I. Part II. p. 318.

² *The Wonders of the Heavens, or a plain Exposition of the System of the Universe. On New or Evanescent Stars*, § 227.

the changes experienced by those other stars which have been seen suddenly to blaze forth in bright flames, in quarters of the heavens where no star has ever before been noticed, and then have gone out perhaps for ever." He then gives a brief history of the stars of this nature, which have always attracted the special attention of astronomers. Of these, among which the star noticed by Keppler at the foot of *Serpentarius* must be classed, I will only select one of peculiar interest. "In the night of Nov. 11, 1572," says Littrow, "as Tycho Brahe was crossing the court-yard of his house from his laboratory to his observatory, he observed a new star of very remarkable size on a spot in the constellation of *Cassiopeia*, where he had previously observed none but very small stars. It was so bright as to surpass even Jupiter and Venus in brilliancy, and was visible even by day. During the whole time that it was visible, Tycho was unable to notice any alteration in its position, or any parallax. But after a year this star gradually diminished in brilliancy, and at last, in March, 1574, sixteen months after its discovery, it vanished altogether, nor has a single trace of it been subsequently discoverable. When it first appeared its light was of dazzling whiteness. In January, 1573, two months after its discovery, it had become considerably paler and of a yellowish hue. A few months later it assumed a reddish tinge, like that of Mars or Aldebaran; and at the commencement of 1574, two or three months before its total disappearance, it only glimmered with a grey or leaden colour, like that of Saturn." Suppose now that we are able to bring historic proof of the appearance of a star of this nature about the time of the birth of Christ, surely this would not only render the conjunction above recorded still more remarkable, but would also remove nearly all possible ground for questioning that the journey of the Magi to Jerusalem must be very closely connected with the appearance of that new star. I am indebted for the possibility of adducing this proof to a notice in Münter,¹ who, however, was unable to avail himself of it in consequence of having, chiefly on other

¹ p. 29.

grounds, fixed our Lord's birth at the commencement of that conjunction, *i.e.* in 747 A.U.C. I am surprised, however, that hardly any other writer, not even Littrow, makes any reference to it. Münter says: "The astronomical tables of the Chinese inform us that a new star appeared at a time which would agree with the fourth year before the birth of our Lord, according to our ordinary chronology." In the note to this passage, he names the work from which this notice is borrowed. Its title is: *Tabula chronologica historiæ Sinicæ connexa cum cyclo qui vulgo Kia-tse dicitur, latino sermone exhibita a Jo. Franc. Fouquet et ad Ann. Chr. 1774 a Stephano Borgia perducta*. In this, four years *ante æram vulgarem*, we read: "*Stella nova a cælo per 70 et amplius dies*." This quotation¹ proved all the more striking to me because I had, long before I had met with it, already fixed the year of our Lord's birth in the same year, 750 A.U.C.

Pingrè and Mailla both call the new star "a Comet,"² and both of them record two comets, one of which must have appeared in the fifth and the other in the fourth year before the birth of Christ. However, as Pingrè already

¹ Münter introduces this quotation with the words "doubtful accounts state, etc." But there is not a word to establish his verdict on the historic character of these Chinese tables. On the contrary, they have been viewed as perfectly historical by professional judges, although one neither does nor can attribute to the observations they contain the same high degree of accuracy which may justly be looked for in astronomy of the present day. The astronomer Pingrè, for instance, in his well-known *Cometographie*, Vols. I. II. Paris, 1783-4, gives them this character, and the *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l'Académie des Sciences*, Tom. xv. p. 895-6, contain a memoir by M. Langier identifying the comet discovered at the Paris Observatory in Oct. 28, 1842, with that seen at Cambridge and in China in 1301. As one of the more important works on Chinese chronology, I would mention *Traité de la Chronologie chinoise, composé par le père Gaubil, missionnaire à la Chine, et publié pour servir de suite aux mémoires concernant les Chinois*, par M. Silvestre de Sacy. Paris, 1814. Stuhr has given a short and more general sketch of their astronomical knowledge in his *Untersuchungen über die Ursprünglichkeit und Alterthümlichkeit der Sternkunde unter den Chinesen und Indiern*. Berl. 1831.

² Vol. I. p. 281. *Histoire générale de la Chine, ou annales de cet empire, traduites du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou, publié par M. l'Abbé Groisier*, Vol. III. p. 214.

conjectured, there was really only one; a conclusion to which the perfect agreement of the notes of time for each forces us. According to Pingrè, the supposed first comet appeared in the first and second month, in the constellation *Nieou* (the head of *Capricornus*); according to Mailla, "in the star *Kien-nieou*." The second appeared "in the stars *Ho-kou* (*a* *Aquilæ*, and the neighbouring stars) north of the constellation *Kien-nieou* (part of *Capricornus*)." Consequently they both appeared in nearly the same part of the heavens; the only difference being that the supposed second comet was at the time a little further north. And while the one appeared in the first two months of the year, the other was seen in the third month. And yet the former must have been also still visible in the third month, for it is expressly added that it was seen for seventy days, and consequently for more than two months. However, if the two comets are one and the same, this must have appeared in the first three months of the Chinese Calendar (February, March, April) 4 B.C., *i.e.* 750 A.U.C. The erroneous calculation of its appearance may be explained by the fact that it is specified according to the regnal years of the then Emperor Gay-ti. Now the comet appeared in the second year of the era *Kien-ping*,¹ established by this emperor at the commencement of his reign. We have, therefore, now only to suppose that the star appeared at the close of this second year, to understand how the two distinct years of these chronologers may be made to agree. If, therefore, we suppose that the Star of the Magi is identical with the star observed by the Chinese, we obtain for the journey to Jerusalem and the sojourn there the certain date February, March and April, A.U.C. 750.

Now, if we combine this Chinese observation of a new star, which can hardly have been borrowed from the Christian religion, with the Star of the Magi recorded by Matthew, the course of the events arranges itself in the following manner. The conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, which took place in the years 747, 748 A.U.C.,

¹ On this æra, see Couplet, *Tabula Chronologica Monarchiæ Sinicæ*, Præf. p. xix.

in the constellation *Pisces*, had already put the eastern astrologers in a state of suspense with respect to the events immediately at hand. When, therefore, soon afterwards, that extraordinary star appeared, they immediately set out on their journey to seek for the new-born king. This supposition would, I think, furnish the easiest explanation of the fact that it was not till a considerable time after that first conjunction¹ that they reached Jerusalem. If this calculation is correct, we should again have, not 747 A.U.C.,² but the beginning of 750 as the date of our Lord's birth.

In connection with the view we have taken, we may regard the two statements contained in the narrative as historical, viz. that the star appeared when the Magi were on their way from Jerusalem to Bethlehem,³ and that it went before them thither (*προῆγεν*). Let us first see how these statements accord with the position of the planets Jupiter and Saturn⁴ in February 750 A.U.C., the month and year which I regard as the most probable date for the birth of Jesus. According to Dr. Goldschmidt's calculation the geocentric longitude of Jupiter on February 1st, 750 A.U.C., was 55°. 58', that of Saturn 14°. 17'. Both the planets were visible at that time, and Jupiter culminated at 6 h. 42', and set for the latitude of Jerusalem 1 h. 32' after midnight, 22°. 48' north by west. Saturn culminated at 4 h. 4', and set 10 h. 13' in the evening, 4°. 17' north by

¹ I wish, however, expressly to guard against the conclusion that if this reason for the Magi having tarried so long does not prove satisfactory, no other can be discovered. I may merely mention, as something remarkable, that according to Abarbanel, Moses was born three years after such a conjunction. This view, if supposed to exist in the time of our Lord, would warrant the conclusion that in the idea of the Jews of that day the Messiah was to be born three years after a conjunction of this kind. This conclusion, however, since the first conjunction occurred in 747 A.U.C., would bring us to 750 A.U.C.

² Ideler, Münter, Winer, Ebrard, and many others, have decided in favour of 747 as the year of our Lord's birth, with special reference to the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn which then took place. Kepler, on the other hand, has on the same grounds adopted 748 A.U.C.

³ Matt. ii. 9, 10.

⁴ For the astronomical data in proof of this I am indebted to the communications of Dr. Goldschmidt, the astronomer of this place. [Dr. Wieseler writes from Göttingen.—TR.]

west. Now, since they were more than 41° apart from one another, only one of them could be taken into account. Perhaps, therefore, the more probable view is that the star which at that time went before the Magi was the new star of which we have spoken. In that case, however, they must have gone to Bethlehem in the morning, since the constellation of *Capricornus* in which it appeared was seen in February in the south-east quarter of the heavens in the morning. In a psychological point of view, also, it is easy to understand that the thoughts of the Magi during their monotonous journey to Bethlehem must have been occupied with the star, which alone had brought them to Jerusalem, there to seek the Messiah, and when it shone again on their path, "they rejoiced with exceeding great joy."¹ Its appearance at that particular time must, according to the universal principles of human nature, have seemed as a good omen, the more so as it seemed to move in the same direction, just as if it meant to be their guide. And just as they caught sight of Bethlehem, the object of their journey, lying on the summit of its hill, they also saw the star standing above it. So they continued their journey, full of inward joy, and reached the house where they found the Saviour.²

III. *Third Datum.* This is given by the Taxing, decreed by the Emperor Augustus, in pursuance of which the parents of Jesus journeyed from Nazareth to Bethlehem, where, during the time it was being held, Jesus was born.³ If we can ascertain the year of this taxing, then the year of our Lord's birth is thereby determined. However, since the very existence of such a general taxation of the empire

¹ Matt ii. 10.

² [For additional information on this subject cf. the Rev. C. Pritchard's memoir *On the Conjunctions of the Planets Jupiter and Saturn*, "Memoirs of the Royal Ast. Soc." Vol. xxv., and his article "Star of the Wise Men" in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. Mr. Pritchard has made the necessary calculations afresh, and proves the correctness of Wieseler's statement that the planets could not have appeared as one star, since during the year in question "they never appeared to have approached each other within double the apparent diameter of the moon." See also Abp. Thomson's article "Jesus Christ" in Smith's *Dictionary*, p. 1072 b.—Tr.]

³ Luke ii. 1—7.

as is here spoken of, has been questioned by some, before examining in what year it was held, we must first firmly establish the fact that it was held at all. In addition to the ordinary Commentaries *in loco*, and the various "Lives of Jesus," we must refer for investigations into the historical character of the narrative to the monographs of Perizonius,¹ Reinold,² and especially to that of Huschke.³

Five objections have been brought against the historical truth of the census related in Luke. (1) It is at variance with the other evidence of history, that Augustus should have set on foot a census of the entire Roman empire,⁴ while during his whole reign, and for some time afterwards, we read only of isolated provincial censuses. (2) Admitting the possibility of a census of the empire, it is impossible that at the time of our Lord's birth, that is, during the reign of Herod,⁵ or at latest of Archelaus, any Roman census can have taken place in Judea, because Judea at that time had not yet become a Roman province. (3) It is contrary to the regulation of a Roman census that Joseph should have been obliged to travel to the dwelling-place of his family, Bethlehem, since the Romans were accustomed to take the census at the places of ordinary residence, and in the chief towns of the districts. (4) The statement also appears suspicious that Mary, who in her circumstances would certainly have been anxious to remain at home, presented herself in person at the census. (5) And, finally, the census mentioned is expressly placed in the time that Quirinus was Governor, and therefore at least ten years after the time when Jesus must have been born. Luke, therefore, even if correct in stating that a census took place at the time of the birth of Jesus, must have confounded it with that under Quirinus.

¹ *De Augusti orbis descriptione*. Oxon. 1738.

² *Census habitus nascente Christo*. Franc. 1682.

³ *Über den zur Zeit der Geburt J. Ch. gehaltenen Census*. ("The census held at the time of our Lord's birth.") Breslau, 1840.

⁴ The expression *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη*, Luke ii. 1, cannot be restricted to Judea, but must, in accordance with prevalent usage, adopted also by Luke, be interpreted of the Roman empire, the then *orbis terrarum*. See Anger, p. 196.

⁵ *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις*, Luke ii. 1, cf. i. 5, 39.

The exegesis of the New Testament could derive nothing but advantage from the full investigation of the first four of these objections by a scholar like Huschke, possessed of such stores of professional knowledge, and whose former studies had led him to acquire a thorough acquaintance with the Roman system of taxation. But, while I gladly acknowledge the multifarious information for which I am indebted to his work, distinguished as it is by learning and acumen, more especially as regards the juristic side of the question, I must on the other hand openly confess, that even on some essential particulars, to be specified hereafter, I have been unable, after repeated examination, to come to the same conclusions with him.

I. The first objection, which relates to the historical fact of the occurrence of a general census of the empire in the time of our Lord's birth, presents the greatest difficulties. These, however, have not unfrequently been exaggerated both by friends and by foes. We therefore turn to the text of Luke itself, for the purpose of ascertaining what it is that, supposing he is correct, must be proved with regard to an imperial census of this kind. In Luke ii. 1, 2, the expressions ἀπογράφεισθαι and ἀπογραφὴ are employed. The verb ἀπογράφεισθαι originally signifies only "to register," "to enter in public books." But since merely the names of the individuals, and perhaps their property also, would be entered in the register,—and this in both cases with or without a view to taxation,—the original idea becomes considerably extended; and in proportion as we extend or restrict it, there will be more or less to establish. On the other hand, the unambiguous expression for taxation proper is ἀποτίμησις. So far, indeed, as any distinction was made between a census of Roman citizens and a provincial census, the word ἀποτίμησις in a peculiar sense, was used of the one,¹ and ἀπογραφὴ of the other. The question then arises whether in

¹ A Jurist of the second century, *Fragment. Dosith. de jur. specieb. et de manumissione*, § 21, ed. Lachmann, says, "Sed in urbe Roma tantum census agi ratum est, in provinciis magis professionibus utuntur." Salmasius gives the Greek version thus: 'Ἄλλ' ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαίων μόνον ἀποτίμησιν ἀγεσθαι δεδήλωται ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις μᾶλλον ἀπογραφαῖς χρῶνται.

the ἀπογραφή, recorded Luke ii. 2, which may be called both Roman and Jewish, we are to understand a mere register of individuals, or a taxing proper. The fact that the ἀπογραφή which took place under Quirinus, after the death of Archelaus, was also such an assessment of property (in Josephus¹ it is sometimes called ἀπογραφή, sometimes ἀποτίμησις), and is likewise called by Luke² an ἀπογραφή, certainly can decide nothing further as regards this ἀπογραφή. However, if this too were merely a numbering of the population, it seems to me at least very probable that Augustus arranged it with special reference to taxation, which in this view would have been a poll-tax. Indeed, what other object could he have had in ordering a measure so full of dangers and so burdened with forms? Satisfaction of his curiosity can hardly have been the only object with so cautious a ruler. Nor can it have been raising of troops, since, at their urgent request, Rome had granted the Jews a general dispensation from military service.³ Or perhaps it may appear a sufficient reason for this registration that the Emperor was desirous of informing himself at his leisure of the number of fighting men in Israel, that he might judge what resistance they could offer in case of an insurrection. But could he really have entertained so great anxiety about Judea? We therefore grant to our opponents that it is probable that if Augustus ordered an ἀπογραφή in the time of Herod, he did so with the view of at the same time introducing a regular system of taxation among the Jewish nation.

Further, we read no more in Luke ii. 1, than that "in those days there went out a decree (ἐξήλθε δόγμα) from Cæsar Augustus that all the world (οἰκουμένη) should be taxed." The Evangelist does not tell us where and how the decree in its full extent was executed. For it is clear from the text that the ἀπογραφή mentioned v. 2 must be understood of a census of Palestine alone, not as a census of the entire οἰκουμένη. This appears partly from the general tenor of the narrative, partly from the clause

¹ *Antiq.* xvii. 13. 5, xviii. 1.

³ Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10. 6.

² Acts v. 37.

which immediately follows, ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου, however this may be understood. At all events, so much is clear from Luke, that at that time, in consequence of the decree referred to, a census is said to have been held in Palestine. However, we must not by any means make our Evangelist answerable for the opinion that this census embraced at the same time the rest of the Roman empire. So the word πρώτη (v. 2) primarily implies no more than that this was the first time that a census was held in Palestine in consequence of a decree from Rome, not, although it is not improbable in itself, that this census was also the first portion of the census of the empire commanded in that decree that was carried into execution. In conclusion, the decree for the census (v. 1) extended to the whole οἰκουμένη. Now, by this term we must certainly understand the *orbis terrarum* of the Romans,¹ though, rather excluding than including the citizens of Rome itself. This sense, for example, we find attached to the word in the celebrated Monument of Ancyra,² *Res gestæ Divi Augusti quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Romani subjecit*. Besides, when we consider the great difference there was between a census of Roman citizens and a provincial census, which, even in the later times of the Empire, when the census of the citizens had degenerated into a mere form, was still maintained in their distinctive titles,³ it may appear at least *à priori* probable that Luke speaks of a general provincial census. In order then to defend the credibility of the Evangelist against the first objection, we must prove that Augustus during his reign did hold a provincial census of this kind, and published his decree to this effect before 750 A.U.C.

Now the fact is that we find a mention of this general census in two authors besides Luke. Cassiodorus speaks of it thus: "*Augusti siquidem temporibus orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum suscepit quantitate solvenda.*"⁴ Suidas remarks under the word ἀπογραφή: ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ Αὐ-

¹ Cf. p. 72, note 4.

² Suicer, *Thes.* II. p. 466; Elsner, *Obs.* p. 184; Wolf, *Cur.* p. 576.

³ Cf. p. 73, note. ⁴ *Var.* III. 52.

γονστος, ὁ μονάρχης, εἴκοσιν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐξέπεμψε, δι' ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποίησατο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐσιῶν, αὐτάρκη τινὰ προστάξας τῷ δημοσίῳ μοῖραν ἐκ τούτων εἰσφέρεισθαι. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοῖς κεκτημένοις τι μὴ ἀφαιρουμένων ὥς εἶναι τοῖς εὐπόροις δημόσιον ἔγκλημα τὸν πλοῦτον.¹ Both these authors belong, it is true, to a later period, and both are Christians. But from the nature of their statement it is clear that they must have had other independent sources, in addition to Luke's narrative, at their command. For Cassiodorus, in addition to a census, records a survey of the empire, and Suidas, after telling us of the appointment of twenty men who went to superintend the taking of the census in the provinces (ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῶν ὑπηκόων), mentions the object Augustus had in making this provincial census, and that in perfect correspondence with his prudence, viz. that he might thus, unlike his predecessors, place the property of the rich in security by an accurate determination of the amount of the tax to be paid.

It must certainly be confessed that with the exception of Luke we have no express mention of the census of the empire in any nearly contemporaneous author: but where should we expect to find it? And are we to lay down a special rule for Luke alone, that in the case of his statements we may conclude more from a *testimonium de taciturnitate* than in any similar cases? On this point Huschke has the following excellent remarks:² "As, for example, we obtain our information about the *legis actiones* and their abrogation, both of which were certainly as

¹ The remarks of Suidas on an ἀπογραφὴ (under the word Αἰγουςτος), have been quoted by Huschke, p. 4, but they do not appear to me to relate to a census of the empire. The passage so often quoted from Isidore of Seville seems to me equally irrelevant. *Orig.* v. 36, § 4: "Era singulorum annorum est constituta a Cæsare Augusto, quando primum census exegit ac Romanum orbem descripsit. Dicta autem era eo quod omnis orbis æs reddere professus est reipublicæ." The meaning attached by some to the passage principally rests on a comparison of the commencement of a Spanish era, 716 A.U.C. with the year of our Lord's birth, connected with a false etymology of the word era. Ideler, II. p. 422.

² p. 36.

important for the earlier periods of the history of Rome as the census of the empire was for the later, not from the histories of Livy, Polybius, or Dionysius, but from the *Institutions* of Gaius; so, while it might well appear strange to us if we found no mention of the census of Augustus in the works of Paullus and Ulpian, if they had come down to us entire, we cannot be surprised if it does not appear in the ordinary histories of the age;" and again, "We may use as an analogy for the absence of any mention of the census of the empire in Suetonius' biography of Augustus, the precisely similar phenomenon that Spartian in his 'Life of Hadrian' never once alludes to the *Edictum perpetuum* issued by him, which in later times has rendered this emperor's memory famous." The *Annals* of Tacitus commence with Tiberius. Of the fifty-fifth book of the *Roman History* of Dio Cassius, containing the years 745—761 A.U.C., we possess merely an epitome, while even in this there is a chasm comprising the very period (748—752), during which the birth of our Lord must have occurred. Besides, if we consider that, on the one hand, this census of the empire was a regulation merely affecting the inhabitants of the provinces, and that, on the other hand, the edict commanding it was not carried out immediately, or at the same time in all parts of the empire (which would, of course, have rendered its importance more apparent),¹ we shall have less reason to be surprised at the absence of any mention of it in earlier times. All then that under these circumstances can be fairly expected is, that we should be able to shew the

¹ Huschke is of opinion that the imperial census embraced the whole empire, *including* the citizens of Rome. In accordance with this view he assumes that the census was held at the same time in Italy and in the provinces. Now the first general census of the empire must have been that recorded in the *Monum. Ancyr.* and elsewhere, in the year 746 A.U.C., which, according to Dio, began 743 A.U.C. Huschke, however, has been unable to adduce a single instance of a census having been taken at that time in the provinces. This assumption that the Jewish census under Herod is to be placed in the following year, 747 A.U.C., is an hypothesis connected with his view as to the year of Christ's birth, which, following Ideler and others, he places in that same year, and falls to the ground as soon as erroneousness of that is shewn.

perfect internal harmony of Luke's account, taken in conjunction with the later records which supplement and confirm it, with the development of Roman state-life at that period, and the history of their rulers. For this I trust it will be found that we have ample proofs at command.

It has been acknowledged by other writers, and it has been conclusively shewn by Huschke,¹ that the commencement of the imperial age was marked by a decisive endeavour on the part of the Roman body politic, to centralize in the capital the management of all the surrounding provinces. This tendency towards centralization and unity was promoted, and indeed presupposed, by the transference of the *imperium* to a single individual, as was done in the case of Augustus, 726 A.U.C.,² and subsequently renewed with ever-increasing privileges. Previous to 731 A.U.C. the census of the provinces was held by the several governors. In that year Augustus had received the proconsular dignity in the most extended sense, so that all the provincial governors of the empire, not even excepting those of the provinces still governed directly by the Roman people, were subjected to his control. Can we then feel any surprise that when the power of making the census had been thus vested in the single person of the emperor, the census itself should have been carried out with a certain uniformity. And yet at the same time it cannot be denied that this general census was undertaken with the greatest possible consideration for provincial and national peculiarities that the circumstances allowed, and further, that it was carried out in different years in the several provinces and divisions of that vast empire. Indeed, the extent and difficulty of the task would have rendered it impracticable to carry it out everywhere at one and the same time, while the danger of such an attempt would have made it inadvisable.

In pursuing our enquiry we cannot fail to give considerable weight to the fact that a short time before a kindred measure, not less comprehensive in its nature, had been already executed, viz. "The general Survey of

¹ p. 16, ff.

² Dio Cass. LIII. 12, 14.

the Empire," or "Descriptio Orbis," of the historical truth of which, with the evidence we possess, it will be impossible to entertain any doubt. Among the authorities I will quote Frontinus:¹ "Huic addendæ sunt mensuræ limitum et terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Cæsarum; sed et Balbi mensoris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum et civitatum formas et mensuras compertas in commentarios retulit et legem agrariam per universitatem (al. diversitates) provinciarum distinxit et declaravit;" and again:² "Omnem terram suis temporibus fecit (Augustus) remensurari." The fullest details, however, of this survey of the empire are given in the *Cosmographia* ascribed to Æthicus Ister,³ where we read: "Itaque Julius Cæsar, bissextilis rationis inventor, divinis humanisque rebus singulariter instructus, cum consulatus sui fasces erigeret, ex senatus consulto censuit omnem orbem jam Romani nominis admetiri per prudentissimos viros et omni philosophiæ munere decoratos. Ergo a Julio Cæsare et M. Antonio, coss. orbis terrarum metiri cœpit, i.e. a consulatu suprascripto usque ad consulatum Augusti III. et Crassi, annis xxi, mensibus v, diebus ix, (a) Zenodoxo omnis oriens dimensus est, sicut inferius demonstratur. A consulatu item Julii Cæsaris et M. Antonii usque in consulatum Augusti x, annis xxix, mensibus viii, diebus x, a Theodoto septentrionalis pars dimensa (est) ut evidenter ostenditur. A consulatu similiter Julii Cæsaris usque in consulatum Saturni-(ni) et Cinnæ a Polyclito meridiana pars dimensa est, annis xxxii, mense i, diebus x, sicut definita monstratur. Ac sic omnis orbis terræ intra annos xxxii, a dimensoribus peragratus est et de omni ejus continentia perlatum est ad senatum." However sorely the text may have suffered from the transcribers, so much at least is evident: *first*, that such detailed statements cannot have fallen from the clouds;⁴

¹ *De Colonia in the Rei Agrar. Auctores*, ed. Goes, p. 109.

² *Ex libro Balbi*, p. 143.

³ Ed. Gronov. p. 26.

⁴ See Huschke, p. 7 sq., and the sterling treatise of the philologist Ritschl, *Die Vermessung des Römischen Reichs unter Aug. die Welt Karte des Agripp. u. die Cosmograph. des sogenannten Æthicus (Jul. Honorius)*, Rhein. Mus. f. Philol. von F. G. Welcker u. F. Ritschl. New series. First yearly issue, pp. 481—523. This treatise contains

and, *secondly*, that the laborious business of the survey of the empire had been previously arranged by Cæsar, and after a considerable interval (but still sometime before 750 A.U.C.) completed by Augustus. Such a survey of the empire was the best preparation for the census of the empire, and we can hardly conceive that it had no reference to it. The jurist, Von Savigny, whose thorough acquaintance with the subject none will be inclined to deny, says on this point, in a treatise on the Roman system of taxation:¹ "It appears that together with the commencement of the imperial form of government a struggle arose in the provinces for an equal system of taxation, which was evidenced by a desire to make the land-tax general, and on the other hand to abolish all fluctuating taxes. The notices of a general survey under Augustus point to this, for its only value could have been in reference to a land-tax."

In conclusion, we are told by Suetonius, that Augustus had formed a *rationarium*, or *breviarium totius imperii*, the contents of which we learn from Tacitus:² "*Opes publicæ continebantur; quantum civium sociorumque in armis; quot regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates ac largitiones.*" How much importance Augustus set on this catalogue is plain from the words immediately following: "*Quæ cuncta sua manu præscripserat Augustus,*" as well as from the direction in his will that it should be publicly read in the senate. This general survey of the resources and revenues of the empire must have had a very close connection with, even if it did not originate in the idea of adopting uniform regulations with regard to their collection and employment, especially as we find that Augustus for some time prior to 731 A.U.C.³ had possessed a "*Breviarium*" of this kind. Indeed, the more his heart was set on having a perfectly accurate catalogue, the less

several new explanations of the cosmography of Æthicus, and the passage quoted above, as well as an important recension of this latter from the Vatican MS. No. 3864. In an appendix to the second yearly issue, p. 157, there is a facsimile of this passage from the Rhediger MS.

¹ *Zeitschr. für Gesch. Rechtswissenschaft*, Vol. vi. p. 350.

² *Annal.* i. 11. Cf. Sueton. *Aug.* xxviii. 101; Dio lxx. 30, lvi. 33.

³ Suet. *Aug.* xxviii.; Dio, lxx. 30.

would he have been inclined to rely on the statements of foreigners who had an interest in tampering with the returns, and would have recourse to comprehensive measures, so far as was consistent with moderation and prudence. We must also remark that the "socii" and "regna" had also their places in this catalogue.

After this review of the evidence, both external and internal, direct and indirect, the careful inquirer will scarcely hesitate to acknowledge that the decree of Augustus for a general census of the empire, recorded by Luke, is a fact for the historical truth of which we have the fullest guarantee. The time too in which Luke places the publication of this decree, shortly before 750 A.U.C., is one which the history of the period renders thoroughly probable. At that time Augustus was at the very summit of his power. Nearly the whole empire was in the enjoyment of profound peace, and a decree had been issued by Augustus in 743 A.U.C., for the third time during his reign, to close the temple of Janus, though, in consequence of some disturbances in Dacia,¹ it was not carried into effect till 752 A.U.C.² What time could be imagined more favourable for extensive works of peace and for a firm internal organization of the mighty Roman empire?³

Huschke, however, has endeavoured⁴ to shew that a general census of the empire was carried into execution in a still more comprehensive sense than we are disposed to maintain either from the language of the Evangelist, or from our knowledge of the state of the Roman empire at that period. Before we enter upon a closer examination of his views, we may premise that even if they should prove to be correct, our *chronological* conclusions at any rate would not be impugned.

Huschke starts on the supposition that the census of the empire under Augustus comprehended the inhabitants of

¹ Dio, LIV. 36.

² Previously to the reign of Augustus the temple of Janus had only been twice shut. This emperor alone was able to shut it three times. See Casaubon's note on Sueton. *August.* 22.

³ For other important works of Augustus during this period, see Huschke, p. 34 sq.

⁴ p. 37 sq.

the provinces *including* the citizens of Rome, and then naturally enough maintains that these two forms of census were held nearly at the same time. But the very existence of a census of the empire in this sense, especially at that early period, appears to me *à priori* exceedingly improbable. The census of citizens was an essentially Roman institution, founded on their rights and duties as such, and since it closed contemporaneously with the lustrum, it assumed a definite religious character. The census of the provincials differed from this *in toto*; indeed its essence consisted in this, that it had to do with those who were not Roman citizens at all. This wide distinction could only have been done away by declaring all inhabitants of the provinces Roman citizens; a measure which, it is true, Dio asserts was proposed by Mæcenas, though not without certain restrictions,¹ but rejected by Augustus as impracticable. The census of the provincials, besides the special object of a census, was to determine the quota of taxes to be paid by each, while, on the contrary, the citizens of Rome had now for some time been entirely free from taxation.² How slender then is the bond which could have united the census of the citizens with that of the provincials. Besides, what end would have been answered by the perilous attempt to identify two institutions differing at that time so widely from one another? Indeed, as we have already noticed,³ the distinction between the two forms of census, even in their very designation, was maintained down to later times. But further, even if under Augustus the census was no longer held precisely as it had been in the days of the Old Republic, we can hardly with justice draw the conclusion that it was sinking into a mere general census of the empire. For, on the one hand, those alterations had already commenced before the time of Augustus, while on the other, analogous phenomena are to be met with in the other institutions of the Republic, the existence of which inspired their rulers with an anxious feeling lest the use

¹ Ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτου αὐθις ἀκριβέστερον σκεψόμεθα ἀ χρητὴν πράξει
ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντα ἄθροα αὐτοῖς (τοῖς ἀρχομένοις) χαρισώμεθα.

² See Puchta, *Cursus der Institutionen*, Vol. i. p. 384.

³ p. 75.

of the ancient forms might unseasonably conjure up the ancient spirit with them.¹

But now after these general observations let us examine the passages regarded by Huschke as proofs of his view. These are to be found partly in Dio Cassius, partly in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, a short autobiography of Augustus,² which he, by his will, directed to be engraved on brazen tablets and set up before his mausoleum.³

The first mention of a census of the empire adduced by Huschke is that of the year 743 A.U.C., and described by Dio in the following words:⁴ Ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν ἐκεῖνα ἐγίγνετο, Αὐγουστος ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποίησατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ, καθάπερ τις ιδιώτης ἀπογραφάμενος, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατελέξατο. After having justly rejected as inexact the translation of Reimar, "etiam facultatibus suis velut si privatus quispiam esset descriptis," he gives the following interpretation:⁵ "Augustus set on foot a census the object of which was the whole of the empire under his sway, as if his relations to it were almost those of a private person, i.e. as if he were its master, and in the same sense as a private person is master of his own property." Now if the interpretation is correct, a census of the empire, and that too in Huschke's sense, is undoubtedly here spoken of, for it may certainly be deduced from the clause καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατελ. "*et senatum legit*," that a census of Roman citizens was held at the same time. I have not, however, been able to convince myself of the correctness of this interpretation. For (1) in this connection everybody will interpret τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ⁶ of the property of

¹ Cf. the admonition of Mæcenas to Augustus, Dio, lxx. 20: μὴ μέντοι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις σφῶν τὰς ἀρχαίας τηρήσης, ἵνα μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αἰδοῖς γένηται.

² Chishul's text, with Casaubon's animadversions, is printed in Wolf's edition of Suetonius, Vol. II. p. 369. This important monument has unfortunately come down to us in a very mutilated state.

³ Sueton. Aug. 101.

⁴ Dio, liv. 35.

⁵ p. 40 sq.

⁶ Cf. Dio, lxx. 14, lxxii. 12. Allowing that the words ὑπαρχεῖ αὐτῷ could have been used in reference to Augustus when speaking of the collective property of all the inhabitants of the Roman empire, it is scarcely likely that any one who desired to speak intelligibly would have converted that predicate into a subject, and simply said τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ, to denote the property of Augustus in the extent

Augustus, which however is not the same thing as the property of the empire. Huschke's view would have been expressed by *πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπογραφάμενος*, or something of the kind. (2) The position occupied by Augustus towards the property of the empire, *i.e.* in this passage the property of the whole population of Italy and the provinces, was not that of a private person towards his private property. On the contrary, even the public revenues of the empire at that period were still paid into two separate treasuries—the revenues of the provinces committed to Augustus, into his private treasury or *Fiscus*, and those from the remaining divisions of the empire into the public treasury or *Ærarium*, as is sufficiently familiar from Dio Cassius and the *Monum. Ancyrae*. Even the passages quoted by Huschke¹ from the philosopher Seneca, who belonged to a later period,² seem to me to prove just the contrary to what he wishes them to prove; for the emperor's right of property, in the sense which Huschke demands, is only asserted in the wider or political signification. On the contrary, the most natural way of interpreting the passage appears to me as follows: "Augustus set on foot a census, to which he allowed his own private property to be submitted, just as if he was a private person, that he might avoid all possible cause of offence." The emphasis lies on the word *ιδιωτῆς*. Dio's object is to bring the circumstance prominently forward that Augustus, in his position as *αὐτοκράτωρ*, did not come under the census, but that nevertheless, in compliance with the old custom, he had submitted himself to it.³ Remarks of this kind, which shew the prudence of Augustus' conduct, and the gradual transition of Rome from a republic with free institutions, into its later posi-

indicated. And if it had been a new form of census, *viz.* a census of the empire, would Dio the first time he mentioned it have spoken of it so vaguely?

¹ p. 39, note 108.

² Senec. *de Benefic.* vii. 4, 6.

³ The personal exemption of Augustus from the census is most plainly evident from the words of Dio, *l.iii.* 23: *ὡς περ εἴρηται μοι καὶ αὐτοτελὴς ὄντω καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων, πάντα τε ὅσα βούλοιο ποιεῖν καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μὴ βούλοιο μὴ πράττειν.* Cf. Dio, *l.iii.* 18.

tion as an empire, are thoroughly in accordance with the style of Dio Cassius.¹ But in this case Dio only mentions a census of *Roman citizens*, while the only point that deserves attention in connection with our enquiry is, that Augustus must in it have made communications from his *Breviarium totius imperii*, which included also the provinces placed under his immediate government.

The second passage of Dio² quoted by Huschke speaks of a census held in the year 757 A.U.C., recorded by no other author. The historian after relating a recension of the senate which Augustus had caused to be made by others, proceeds, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικούντων καὶ μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων (200,000 sesterces) οὐσίαν κεκτημένων ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς γὰρ ἀσθενετέρους τοὺς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκούντας οὐκ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπογράψασθαι, δέισας μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι παραχθέντες· καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ δόξειεν ὡς τιμητῆς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, δι' ὅπερ εἶπον πρότερον, ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τε τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθαρσίου πόλεωσιν προσέθετο. Huschke reasons as follows: "The dwellers in Italy are contrasted with those dwelling out of Italy, i.e. the provincials. Now since Dio elsewhere gives the reasons why the census of the provincials was not taken at the same time as that of the citizens of Rome, therefore the census of the empire (in his sense) must have been already instituted at any rate previous to 757 A.U.C."

The admissibility of this demonstration undoubtedly depends on the supposition that the provincials are meant by οἱ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκούντες. An idea which is more than questionable. Dio elsewhere regularly calls the provincials, οἱ ὑπήκοοι, and if he had desired to include the allies together with them he would have certainly said οἱ τέ ὑπήκοοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. Nor can we suppose that Dio would have expressed the liability to the census by a reference to the place of residence (οἰκούντες) of those of whom the census was to be taken, since the Roman census (as Huschke himself has learnedly proved³) was

¹ Cf. e.g. Dio, LIII. 1, where he describes the resignation by Augustus of his sixth consulship: καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὄρκον κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε· καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὐθις ταῦτα ἐποίησεν οὐκ οἶδα.

² LV. 13.

³ p. 116 sq.

not taken according to the place of residence, but according to the *forum originis*. In conclusion, since Dio had immediately before spoken of a recension of the senate, it must at once occur to the reader that he is here speaking of a census of Roman citizens. The historian's purpose is simply to inform us that Augustus had caused a census to be taken at that time of those Roman citizens only who were dwelling in Italy, and were possessed of property to the amount of 200,000 sesterces, not of those whose property was less, or who resided out of Italy.¹ Yet even if for the sake of argument we suppose that οἱ ἐξ Ἰταλίας might, without doing violence to the meaning of the words and the sense of the context, refer to the provincials, yet, on the other hand, there is no doubt that they may also bear the sense we put upon them. An interpretation which, even if we adopt Huschke's hypothesis, is much to be preferred, inasmuch as this is the only way in which the existence of a census of the empire, in Huschke's sense, can be demonstrated to be an historical fact, since otherwise we should by a *petitio principii* take for granted that which had to be proved. Huschke, it is true, attaches very great weight to the fact that Augustus held the census, according to Dio, as ἀνθύπατος, an office the mention of which indicates its intimate connection with the provincials. All well and good if the proconsulate of an Augustus had been merely what it was in the earlier times of the Republic. But that it was not so, as Huschke himself is ready to allow,² is clear from Dio, LIII. 32. Augustus, who, to avoid giving any offence to the citizens of Rome, never laid claim to the hateful names of *dictator* or *rex*, invested himself with nearly supreme power under the more modest title of a *proconsul perpetuus*. The offers which, according to Dio,³ had been made to him in 732 A.U.C. of becoming censor for

¹ Huschke, p. 117, cites the following passages to prove that it was contrary to the regulation of the Roman census for Roman citizens who lived out of Italy, not to present themselves there for registration. Vell. Pat. ii. 15: "Ut cives Romanos ad censendum ex provinciis in Italian revocaverint." Cic. Verr. Act. i. 18; Liv. XLIII. 14. It was charged as an abuse by C. Scipio, "absentes censi, ut ad censum nemini necessum sit venire." Aul. Gell. v. 19.

² pp. 21—87.

³ LIV. 2.

life, had been rejected by him, and doubtless for the same reason. But while persons were still elected to that office, we find, as Dio expressly states,¹ that much that belonged to it was executed by him in his capacity of νομοθέτης and αὐτοκράτωρ.² Why then should we be surprised at Dio's statement, that Augustus wished to avoid the appearance of holding the census as a τιμητής, and had therefore also assumed the ἀνθύπατος ἐξουσία? What title was he more likely to have taken for this purpose than that of proconsul? Even Huschke himself is forced to admit that Augustus,³ in his capacity of proconsul, could have held a census of Roman citizens.

We now come to the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.⁴ Huschke,⁵ aware that nothing could tend to confirm his view so powerfully as any arguments he could derive from this monument, since thus it would, as it were, have the approbation of Augustus himself, has put forth all his acuteness to discover it there. With this object he has made here and there some tolerably bold conjectures, with the view of supplying the *lacunæ* which are, alas! pretty numerous, to support his theory. The principal paragraph of the monument in which Augustus records the census

¹ LII. 28.

² Καὶ τότε δὴ ὁ Αὐγουστος καίπερ ἐκείνων αἰρεθέντων πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἐπραξε. After having given an account of what Augustus did as censor, he proceeds: καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις τό τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπεδείκνυτο. The end of Huschke's note (70, p. 25) is at variance with the express words of Dio.

³ p. 27, obs. 78. The passage there quoted from Dio (LIII. 17) is of importance for our enquiry: ἀνθύπατοι ἀεὶ ὁσάκις ἀν' ἔξω τοῦ πωμηλοῦ ὄσιν, ὀνομαζόνται: for it makes it clear that the regular title of the emperors (his words are ἀεὶ ὀνομ.), as soon as they were beyond the Pomœrium, was proconsul. The census, however, was held in the Campus Martius, which was outside the Pomœrium.

⁴ [See Theodore Bergk, *Augusti res a se gestæ*, Göttingen, 1873; and Theodore Mommsen, *Res gestæ Divi Augusti*, Berlin, 1865.—Tr.]

⁵ [Mommsen writes, p. 22, "Egit de hoc loco Hushkii diligenter magis quam feliciter; ita tres hos census re diversos fuisse voluit, propterea quod primus solus diserte appellatur census populi; neque intellexit Augustum, uti par erat, primum usum esse rei plena definitione, postea breviori significatione, et recte omnino Suetonium (Aug. 27) hunc monumenti locum reddere his verbis, *censum populi ter egit*.—Tr.]

held by him stands in the "Tabula secunda a læva." We give the text of [Mommsen,¹] putting his conjectural additions in brackets.

PATRICIORVM . NVMERVM . AVXI . CONSVL . QVINTVM .
 IVSSV . POPVLI . ET SENATVS . SENA
 TVM . TER . LEGI . ET . IN . CONSVLATV . SEXTO .
 CENSVM . POPVLI . CONLEGA . M . AGRIPPA . EGI.
 LVSTRVM POST . ANNVM . ALTERVM . ET QVADRAGEN-
 SIMVM . FECI . QVO . LVSTRO . CIVI
 VM . ROMANORVM . CENSA . SVNT . CAPITA . QVADRAGIENS
 CENTVM . MILLIA . ET . SEXA
 GINTA . TRIA . MILLIA . [ITERV]M . CONSVLARI . CVM .
 IMPERIO . LVSTRVM.
² SOLVS . FECI . C. CENSORIN[O ET C] ASINIO . COS . QVO .
 LVSTRO . CENSA . SVNT.
 CIVIVM . ROMANORV[M . CAPITA] . QVADRAGIENS . CENTVM .
 MILLIA . ET . DVCEN
 TA . TRIGINTA . TRIA . M[ILLIA] [TERTIV]M CONSVLARI
 CVM IMPERIO . LVSTRVM.
 CONLEGA . TIB. CAE[SARE . FILIO . MEO . FECI .] SEX .
 POMPEIO . ET . SEX . APPVLEIO . COS.
 QVO . LVSTRO . CE[NSA . SVNT RO]MANORVM . CAPITVM .
 QVADRAGIENS.
 CENTVM . MILL[IA ET . NONGENTA . TR]IGINTA . ET .
 SEPTEM MILLIA.

The three censuses here mentioned must, according to the consulates named, have been held in the years 726, 746, and 767 A.U.C. Augustus held the first and last with a colleague, the second alone. The same censuses are intended of which Suetonius writes,³ "Recepit et morum legumque regimen æque perpetuum, quo jure, quamquam sine censuræ honore, censum tamen populi ter egit: primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus." The first census was quite distinct in form from the last two. With regard to it, it is a *census populi*, and a *lustrum* that

¹ [Mommsen's text has been substituted for that of Chishull, given by Wieseler, as the more accurate.—Tr.]

² [Mommsen omits *censumque*, given by Chishull and others, for which there is no room in the inscription.—Tr.]

³ Aug. 27.

is spoken of, with regard to the last two (in express terms) only a *lustrum*; for the conjectural addition (line 6) *censumque*¹ is certainly erroneous. Further, Augustus held the last two censuses *consulari cum imperio*, i.e. as Huschke points out correctly (pp. 25, 26, cf. the passage quoted from Dio, p. 77, *supra*), as *proconsul*. But Roman citizens are alone mentioned² as the object of both censuses, while the language of Suetonius accords with this, as he speaks only of a *census populi*. We have already examined how much is to be concluded against this view from the designation of Augustus as *proconsul*.

This passage of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, therefore proves the exact reverse, viz. that there was no census of the empire under Augustus which embraced at the same time and under similar regulations, both citizens of Rome and provincials. For this monument does not afford the slightest ground for the notion that any one of these three censuses of the Roman citizens taken by Augustus was conducted as an integral part of a general census of the empire, which also embraced the inhabitants of the provinces.

The second passage adduced from the *Monum. Ancyr.* appears on the Tabula II. *a dextra*, and is contained in lines 9, 10 of Chishull's text. So far as it has to do with the present subject it is as follows [in Mommsen's text]:

¹ "Censum facere" is not the correct phrase, nor would the "census" have been mentioned after the "lustrum." If the emendation proposed by Huschke, "primus et," is correct, Augustus would be made to say that he was the first, and up to the composition of this Descriptio, the only one (primus et solus) who had held a census of the Roman citizens as *proconsul*.

² Huschke lays great stress in establishing his hypothesis on the "etiam," in line 10, a reading which certainly seems correct [but is rejected by Mommsen]. His interpretation is as follows: "In this lustrum there were also registered, exclusive of the other subjects of the empire, 4,037,000 Roman citizens." But if this interpretation were correct, "etiam" would have been more properly placed before "Romanorum capitum," while in this case just the census of 746 would be described as not having been a general census of the empire, on account of the want of the word "etiam." The word, in my opinion, imports that in that "lustrum," in addition to other kindred matters, the numbering of the Roman citizens was also undertaken.

OMNIUM . PROV[INCIARUM . POPVLI . ROMANI] . QUIBUS .
 FINITIMÆ . FUERUNT .
 GENTES . QUÆ N[ON]DUM PAREBANT . IMPERIO NOSTR[o] .
 FINES . AUX[I.]¹

Huschke gives the following reading, "Omnium provinciarum [censum egi² et earum] quibus . finitimæ . fuerunt . gentes quæ [nondum parebant populo Roman]o . fines . auxi." The decisive words then, *censum egi*, or *censum accepi*, are conjectural. The necessity of such a completion of the sense has however been maintained by Huschke with much acuteness. But even if his conjectural reading should prove correct, the fact that Augustus had ordered a general census of the provinces would be affirmed, which is just the view we have already sought to establish by another process.³

We have thus attempted to refute in greater detail the extreme hypothesis of a census of the empire under Augustus, as maintained by Huschke, and we have done so not only because it has found in him a very learned and acute champion, but also because the conclusion at length arrived at that it was untenable, might have made it more difficult to reach the true view, which of itself sufficiently vouches for the historical character of the Gospel narrative. We may remark, however, that Huschke's view had its origin in his adoption of the erroneous theory that our Lord was born 747 A.U.C. For if this were so, the census recorded by Luke must have been held in the same year, in which case it would appear

¹ [Bergk, p. xvi., reads the inscription thus: "Omnium prov[inci]arum populi Romani] quibus finitimæ fuerunt gentes quæ n[ost]ro infestæ erant imperi]o fines auxi." The Greek has nearly perished, but gives no support to Huschke's conjecture.—Tr.]

² I should prefer the alternative reading, "census accepi," for the reasons given by Huschke, p. 53, note. [Mommsen remarks, "huic loco Huschkius censum intulit ex libris sacris supplens 'censum egi et earum';" sane perverse.—Tr.]

³ In what appears to be an addition to the *Monum. Ancy.* from another hand (Tabula III. *a dextra*, lin. 29—41), the word "census" appears twice towards the close, but the context is so mutilated that it appears impossible to decipher the passage correctly, and probably on this account Huschke has not attempted it.

to follow that this provincial census was nearly contemporaneous with the census of Roman citizens held by Augustus 746 A.U.C.

II. The second objection raised to the historical credibility of Luke's narrative is that, even if the principle of a census of the empire had existed at the time of our Lord's birth, it could not have been then put in operation in Judea, since it was still governed by its native princes. The earliest date at which this would have been possible was 759 A.U.C., when it became a Roman province. This objection is grounded on the fact that it was not so easy to include the country of a *rex socius*, such as Herod the Great, in a Roman census, as the provinces. But that it was impossible to do so is still very far from having been proved. So much, however, we are ready to admit, in connection with our view of the census of the empire, which indeed enjoined a wise regard for provincial and national peculiarities, that in the kingdoms of their allies the Romans adopted at first a milder, and even when circumstances dictated it, an excessively lenient form of census. This we may be sure would have been the case in the census of Palestine under Herod, who reigned over the entire nation of the Jews, a people so much inclined to revolt. It is probable that the forms for holding the census, issued by Rome, were adapted as closely as possible to the conditions of the country, while the execution of it was, as far as practicable, entrusted to the sole management of Herod and his officers. The position of Herod as a "rex socius" scarcely affords sufficient grounds for questioning the probability of such a Romano-Judean census being held in his time. For when we look at the position of the *socii* generally, we shall see that the fundamental difference between them and the provinces was more one of political form than a real one. Indeed Huschke¹ adduces from Tacitus a thoroughly analogous case,² viz. that of the Clitæ, who although under the

¹ p. 100 sq.

² Tacit. *Annal.* vi. 41. "Per idem tempus Clitarum natio, Cappadoci Archelao subjecta, quia nostrum in modum deferre census, pati tributa adigebatur, in juga montis Tauri abscessit." Cf. Huschke, p. 102 sq.

government of a Prince of their own, were yet subjected to the Roman census. And further, if we look at the relations in which Herod stood to Rome individually, we shall see that they too were such as almost to do away with any doubt of the possibility of a census being held in his kingdom. We learn from Josephus¹ that when Pompey had taken Jerusalem he placed the Jews under tribute. Of its amount we know nothing. We have more distinct information with regard to the time of Julius Cæsar, for Josephus² has preserved two decrees relating to the taxes of the Jewish nation. In the latter we read: Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον ἔστησεν, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅπως τελῶσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως, Ἰόππης ὑπεξαίρουμένης, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔτους, ὃν ἐνιαυτὸν Σαββατικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν αὐτῷ μήτε ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρπὸν λαμβάνουσι μήτε σπεύρουσι· καὶ ἵνα ἐν Σιδῶνι τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τὸν φόρον ἀποδιδῶσι, τὸ τέταρτον τῶν σπειρομένων πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι καὶ Ὑρκανῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τὰς δεκάτας τελῶσιν, ἃς ἐτέλουν καὶ τοῖς προγόνους αὐτῶν. This passage is generally misunderstood.³ The subject spoken of is clearly a twofold tax which the Jews had to pay to the Romans. For, in the one case they had to pay *yearly* (κατ' ἐνιαυτόν), with the exception of the seventh or Sabbatical year, while in the other they had to pay again *in the second year*⁴ (τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει), i.e. in the second year of the usual Jewish seven-year or Sabbatical cycle which closed with the Sabbatical year. That the second tax was a land-tax is clear from the fact that it consisted of the quarter of what had been sown.⁵ The former then, the

¹ *Antiq.* xiv. 14. 4.

² *Ibid.* xiv. 10. 5. 6.

³ This is the case even with Huschke, p. 110.

⁴ This same year is styled, in the first decree of the Emperor, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς μισθώσεως ἔτει, "in the second year of the lease." The tilling of the land began immediately after the seventh or Sabbatical year, during which the land had to lie fallow. Cf. K. Kranold, *De Ann. Hebræor. Jubil.* p. 30 sq.

⁵ It is assumed by Huschke and others that the Jews had every year to pay the fourth part of what they had sown. To say nothing, however, of the fact that a land-tax of this kind would have been very onerous, the decree says expressly that this took place only in the second year. This, in the six years during which the tax was paid, would amount to a twenty-fourth part of the quantity sown. The Jews, however, in addition to this, had to pay a tenth to Hyrcanus.

amount of which is not exactly stated, and which was perhaps arbitrary, must certainly have been a poll-tax. Besides, in 715 A.U.C. Antony, according to Appian,¹ appointed Herod king of Idumea and Samaria, ἐπὶ φόροις τεταγμένοις, which must certainly mean on the condition of introducing the same or similar² taxes as those that had been imposed on Judea from the days of Julius Cæsar. The same author states that the Jews had to pay a very heavy poll-tax, which became the more oppressive the more frequently they rebelled.³ The regulation of this poll-tax then certainly rendered it advisable that a census of the Jews should be held.⁴ However, if we try to realize more clearly Herod's exact position towards the Roman Emperor, we shall see how little opposition he was likely to offer to the adoption of such a resolution. He was a tributary monarch who had received his kingly dignity from the hands of Rome, in spite of the decided opposition of the Jews, with whom, as a stranger on the throne of David, it was impossible that he could ever become popular. Nay, his deeds of violence springing from his suspicious and cruel disposition, especially towards the end of his life, must have continually made him more and more detested by them. In consequence of his unhappy relations to his own subjects, he had been already compelled to throw himself more decidedly into the arms of Rome. Besides, after the fall of Antony, Herod, in common with the whole of the East, which had linked itself to his fortunes, had fallen by the right of war into the hands of the conqueror. It was therefore a mere matter of grace on the part of Augustus if after this he allowed Herod even a show of independence. We ought

¹ *De Bell. Civil.* v. 75.

² Even when Saturninus was governor of Syria there was an imperial διοικήτης, named Fabatus, in Palestine. Joseph. *de Bell. Jud.* i. 29. 3; *Ant.* xvii. 3. 2.

³ Καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίοις ἅπανιν ὁ φόρος τῶν σωμάτων βαρύτερος τῆς ἑλλης περιουσίας.

⁴ The word κῆνσος, Matt. xxii. 17, 19, *parall.* seems to be identical with a poll-tax, for the narrative speaks of a *piece of money* in which that tax was paid. The land-tax, however, was certainly paid *in kind*, as in the time of Cæsar. The intimate connection between a census and a poll-tax is well known.

not therefore to feel any surprise that in all matters of importance Herod was obliged to refer to Rome, and receive the decision there given. Without the sanction of Rome he would not venture either to declare war, or conclude peace,¹ or settle disputes relating to his family or the throne: nay even the directions of his will with respect to the succession to the throne had to be confirmed by Rome. Towards the end of the life of the aged Herod, perhaps subsequently to the time that the letter recorded by Josephus was written,² Augustus appears to have displayed increased strictness in his supervision of Palestine. Perhaps at that time the idea may have already occurred to him whether after the death of the old king he should not convert Judea into a Roman province. At any rate, in spite of the resistance of some of the Jews, he made the people take the oaths of allegiance to himself as well as to Herod.³ Besides, the proposition made by a deputation of the Jews that waited on Augustus in Rome after the death of Herod, to constitute Palestine a part of the Roman province of Syria, may, as Tholuck acutely conjectures,⁴ be looked upon as a proof that the events we have just mentioned had had the effect of familiarizing the Jewish nation with such an idea.

To sum up the argument. When we take into consideration on the one hand the necessity for holding a census of the Jews for the purpose of carrying out an improved and more appropriate system of taxation, and on the other, the dependent position of the allies in general, and of Herod in particular, as well as the traces which present themselves of a systematic rigorous interference in Jewish affairs on the part of Augustus, especially at the close of Herod's reign, which is just the most important period of his life for our enquiry; and, further, when we remember that Augustus had at that time already issued the decree that "all the οἰκουμένη should be taxed," which

¹ On his violating these conditions the Emperor addressed Herod in the following strong terms: "Ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται. Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 9. 3.

² Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 9. 3.

³ *Ib.* xvii. 2. 4.

⁴ *Glaubwürdigkeit d. Evang. Geschichte* ("Credibility of the Gospel History"), p. 193, ed. 1.

of course included the kingdom of Herod as a *rex socius*; and that the *breviarium* of Augustus, as is expressly stated,¹ took cognizance of the resources and returns of the *socii*; and, finally, when we also bear in mind that the East had been assigned to the special care and guardianship of Augustus;—it is scarcely possible that we should any longer call in question the express declaration of the Evangelist Luke, an almost contemporary writer, and otherwise well worthy of attention, but must recognize the census of Palestine recorded by him to have been held in the time of Herod, as an historical fact. Even that species of criticism, which is so ready to deduce the origin of the Gospel narratives from an ideal of the Messiah drawn from the Old Testament, is at a loss how to deal with this census. Strauss, however, that he may have something to say on the point, believes that the census was invented for the purpose of making Christ born at Bethlehem, in accordance with the prophecies of the Old Testament. But why was a census necessary for this? And if we grant that a census was essential, then again, the same critic objects (we shall hereafter examine the worth of his objections) that it was contrary to the rules of that census for Joseph and Mary to have to travel to the original home of their family. The census is invented to bring Joseph to the home of his family, Bethlehem; yet it is contrary to the rules of the census that Joseph should in consequence of it have to go to the home of his family. Here then we certainly have two assertions, mutually excluding one another, unless we are willing to admit that it was not without some grounds that Luke, or his informant, recorded the census. But in that case again the mythical view can afford no reason for the necessity of the census.

We must now proceed to examine more minutely the objection raised to the historical character of this census from the writings of Josephus; and this we shall do, because the probable solution of this difficulty appears, on the contrary, to afford a remarkable proof of its historical character, and also to furnish some more precise chrono-

¹ Cf. p. 80.

logical conclusions than any already attained. No one feels any surprise¹ that Herod's census is not expressly mentioned by profane writers; but it is regarded, and doubtless with far more apparent justice, as surprising that Josephus, the Jewish historian, should mention the census of Quirinus, but not that under Herod. And this may appear all the more staggering, since the account of the census held by Quirinus renders it probable that even in Herod's time the Jews would not have submitted with perfect calmness to a taxing issuing from Rome.² However, one cannot but recognize a great difference between the census of Quirinus and that of Herod. Certainly both proceeded primarily from the Emperor Augustus. But, apart from its probably milder form, the one was carried out immediately by the Roman official Quirinus, the other by the native monarch, Herod. The one stood in connection with the subjection of Judea to the immediate dominion of the Romans: the other undertaken voluntarily, appeared, on the contrary, to guarantee the relative independence of Judea, and the permanence of the sovereignty of the Herods. If therefore the political

¹ Huschke, p. 14, adduces a considerable number of censuses, the historical credibility of which no one questions, though they are only known to us through coins and inscriptions.

² The dislike of the Jews to a numbering of the people, even when set on foot by their own native princes, was founded on the Old Testament scriptures. The numbering of the men of war of 20 years old and upward (from which, however, the sacerdotal tribe of Levi was excepted, Numb. i. 2 sq., xxvi. 1 sq.), held for military purposes, was followed by the so-called temple-tax, through which Jehovah was to be propitiated, and plagues averted from the land, Ex. xxx. 12—16. King David, when at the summit of his prosperity he was induced to command a complete enumeration of the people, was reproved by the prophet Gad for his crime, and he and his people were punished by pestilence, 2 Sam. xxiv. How greatly must this dislike have been increased when it was set on foot by heathen rulers, and stamped upon them the fact of their detested subjection to foreigners. Thus in the history of the latest severe oppressions which the kingdom of Judah had to undergo from Antiochus Epiphanes, at the time of the Maccabees, we read of an *ἀρχων φορολογίας*, who was at the very commencement of these troubles appointed in the various Jewish towns. We may also refer to the ordinary language of the Gospels, which shews that "publicans" and "sinners" were almost identical notions in the mind of the Jewish nation.

significance of the two taxings for Judea was so very different, we can very well understand how Josephus came to mention the more important one, that under Quirinus, without therefore feeling it necessary also to mention the one of less importance, that under Herod. Add to this, that it is the object of this cautious historian to say as little as possible of those occurrences or sentiments the mention of which might in any way lead their Roman masters to question the permanent obedience of his nation. From this tendency we may, for example, explain his fragmentary representation of the Messianic expectations, and their manifold influence over the life of the Jewish nation.¹ To this same category also belong the description of the light in which many of the Jews regarded the Roman census, and of the disturbances which it had more than once given rise to, and therefore might give rise to hereafter. It is indeed evident that it was nothing but the fear of exciting Roman suspicion which induced Josephus to express himself in the manner and with the brevity he has done of Judas of Galilee and his party.² Such being our historian's characteristics, it follows that we are not to expect in his writings any express mention of the Herodian census, and the excesses consequent upon it, if (as is certainly probable) any such took place, but rather a covert allusion to them; such however as could scarcely escape a reader familiar with his style. Many writers, from Wernsdorff and Keppler down to Huschke, have believed that they have found an allusion of this kind in the order that the Jews should render the oath of allegiance to the emperor as well as to Herod, issued when Saturninus was governor of Syria, and the refusal of 6000 Pharisees to render obedience to it.³ But it is far from being proved that there was any necessary connection between the oath of allegiance and the census in the dependent portions of the Roman empire, and nothing at all is here said of any insurrection or actual excesses arising after that refusal. We find ourselves, on the

¹ See Wieseler's *Für Auslegung u. Kritik d. Apokalypt. Litteratur des A. und N. T.* p. 133, and especially p. 143 sq.

² *Ant.* xviii. 1. 6.

³ *Ibid.* xvii. 2. 4.

contrary, led to regard the administration of this oath of allegiance as a prudent preparatory step for deeper, more comprehensive, and more menacing measures than those of a mere census. And in fact Josephus narrates that a short time before Herod's death a widespread insurrection broke out among the zealots for the laws and customs of their fathers, which we may certainly regard as a consequence of the detested census.¹ *Ματθίας Μαργαλώθου* is named as the leader of that insurrection,² after him *Ἰούδας ὁ Σαριφαίου*.³ While Herod was suffering from an alarming illness, they began to stir up their countrymen against him, interpreting the various misfortunes which had befallen him, and especially this sickness, as a Divine punishment for his violation of the law.* Josephus then adds mysteriously, *ἦν γὰρ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ τινα πραγματευθέντα παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἃ δὲ ἐπεκάλουν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ Ματθίαν*. In the next sentence, however, when speaking of certain unlawful acts, he only expressly mentions the setting up of a golden eagle above the great gate of the Temple, and that, before Herod's decease a premature report of his death having been spread abroad, the insurgents rushed fearlessly in troops to the temple, that they might first of all destroy the Roman eagle, the detested symbol of the power of Rome in the Holy Place. But while they were hewing down the image with axes, they learned too late the falsehood of the rumour. The captain of the temple at once marched thither with his troop. Taken unawares they were easily dispersed, and about forty were taken prisoners, among whom were the leaders of the insurrection, Matthias and Judas. They were brought to trial, on which it came out that the high priest Matthias, who, as Josephus does not neglect to prove by a very remarkable instance, was faithfully attached to the customs of his ancestors, was mixed up with the insurrection.⁵ He was displaced, and

¹ *Ant.* xvii. 6. 2—4.

² *Ibid.* xvii. 6. 4.

³ *Ibid.* 2.

⁴ As we read that David also was visited with pestilence, on account of having numbered the people.

⁵ Even the other Jews of reputation, called by Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 6. 3) *οἱ ἐν τέλει*, by which he doubtless specially means the members of the Sanhedrim, who were summoned by Herod to Jericho to hold a

in his room Joazar the son of Boëthus was chosen high priest: and this expressly because he was attached to the Roman rule, and had, perhaps previously, when the census was held, recommended the Jews to submit quietly to it. At any rate the adherents of the rebel Matthias were urgent with Archelaus for his removal,¹ and it is expressly stated that he was an advocate for the census under Quirinus.² On the other hand, Herod ordered the leader of the insurrection, Matthias, and several of his adherents, to be burnt alive.³ Besides, it appears to me very deserving of consideration that among the grievances laid by the Jews before Archelaus after his father's death, the chief is one having in view⁴ the diminution of the annual taxes. For since we may infer from the words of Josephus⁵ that this refers, if not solely, yet chiefly to the poll-tax which had in fact to be paid to the Romans every year, those complaints appear to point to a census which had been held a short time before with a view to the levying of this poll-tax.

court there, were not disinclined to favour the cause of Matthias. For the historian relates (§ 4, *in init.*) that it was only fear of Herod's cruelty that led them to conceal their sympathy with the proceedings of the insurgents. Besides, when Josephus records that the ring-leaders were much beloved by the people as their teachers and interpreters of the law (*Ant.* xvii. 6. 2 and 3), that their party was not quieted, but rather exasperated by their death (*Ib.* 9), and that when their terrible opponent Herod the Great was really dead, they came forward more decidedly, and being favoured by circumstances, caused much bloodshed, and gave rise to a struggle of no small peril not only for the Herodian family, but also for the Romans; and further, that the Governor of Syria, Quintilius Varus, and the Quæstor (*ἐπίτροπος*) Sabinus, came at once to the rescue, and treated this act of resistance as an insurrection against Rome; and when Nicolaus remarks, in defence of Archelaus, that these acts of animosity were directed by the Jews only in appearance against him, but really against the Emperor (*Ib.* 9. 6), it is easy to see that Josephus misrepresents the facts when he gives us to understand (*Ib.* 6. 2 and 3) that the captain of the temple had attached too much weight to the destruction of the Roman eagle, the only reason for this act being that the setting up of the eagle, or as he naively says, the consecration of certain animals, *ἀναθέσεις τινῶν ζώων*, was forbidden by the law.

¹ *Ant.* xvii. 9. 1.² *Ibid.* xviii. 1. 1.³ *Ibid.* xvii. 6. 4.⁴ In *Ant.* xvii. 1. 4: οἱ μὲν εισφορὰς, ὥς ἐναυσίους φέροισιν, ἐπικουφίσκω βοῇ χρώμενοι.⁵ *Ant.* xiv. 10. 6. Cf. p. 92.

Finally, a further proof of our view regarding the insurrection of Matthias is furnished by Acts v. 36. The Rabbi Gamaliel, in his speech before the assembled Sanhedrim, makes mention of a certain Theudas, who had gained some adherents in his day, but whose party had fallen to pieces after his death. Several commentators looking for him in Josephus, have identified this Theudas¹ with the false prophet of the same name whom he elsewhere mentions,² who in the time of the prefect Crispus Fadus retreated to the Jordan, and was slain, together with many of his adherents, by a body of Roman cavalry that unexpectedly attacked them. Luke, therefore, is credited with a double mistake. In the first place, he cannot have known that this Theudas made his appearance after Judas of Galilee, and in the second place, that his insurrection took place many years subsequently to the speech of Gamaliel; the only ground for this assumption being that Josephus does not mention any earlier Theudas to whom the passage in the Acts can refer.

This is so damaging to Luke's historical accuracy, that at first sight we are inclined to accept the assumption of Olshausen, Tholuck, and others, that Josephus may have altogether omitted the earlier Theudas. But since he is mentioned together with "Judas of Galilee," he cannot well have been any unknown individual, and there is therefore at least the probability that Josephus must have mentioned him somewhere. Certainly the attempt made by Sonntag³ to identify this Theudas with the Simon mentioned *Ant.* xvii. 10. 6, I consider a failure. For my own part, however, I feel no doubt that he is identical with the above-named Matthias, a celebrated teacher of the law, who towards the close of Herod's reign hewed down the Roman eagle at the temple. All the marks given in Luke, even the name, suit this Matthias. For מתיא is only the Hebrew form of θεόδωρος = θευδᾶς,⁴ and the interchange of the Hebrew and the Greek form is as easily to be accounted for as, in the New Testament,

¹ Cf. Winer, *R. W. B. s. v.* Theudas.

² *Ant.* xx. 5. 1.

³ *Stud. u. Kritik.* 1837, No. 3, p. 622.

⁴ Winer, under the word *Theudae*, makes Θεῦδᾶς = Θεόδωρος, which answers our purpose equally well.

Πέρπος for Κηφᾶς, and *vice versâ*. Besides, if Theudas, according to Luke, "boasted that he was somebody" (*εἶναι τινα ἑαυτόν*), it does not at all follow that he gave himself out to be the Messiah. The probability is that, like the Maccabees, he sought to free his nation from the oppression of foreign dominion, and pagan customs and institutions. And it deserves notice that such acts of deliverance, apparently following the pattern set by Moses and Aaron, and in later times by Zerubbabel and Joshua, usually proceeded from two leaders, one of whom, as the prime mover, took the highest place, while the other acted chiefly as counsellor. Other instances of this are to be seen in the times of the Maccabees, in Judas, who, on account of his bravery, received the surname of Μακκαβαῖος, and his brother Simon, who as Matthias said on his death-bed, was to be a father to his people,¹—in the times of Quirinus, in Judas the Galilean, and his comrade Zadok, the Pharisee—nay even Barcochebas, in the days of Hadrian, had his Rabbi Akiba; while according to Josephus, Ἰουδᾶς Σαριφαίου must have stood in a similar relation to this Matthias.

If then, as I think we have good reason for admitting, Theudas is to be considered identical with that Matthias, this passage of the Acts appears to me to state two facts, of considerable importance for our enquiry—*first*, that the insurrection under Theudas is put in the same category with that under Judas of Galilee, who made his appearance at the period of a census; and *secondly*, that Gamaliel speaks of the census under Quirinus simply as *the ἀπογραφή*, and therefore points it out, if another had been already held at an earlier period, as the best known and the most detested.²

The foregoing arguments appear to me sufficient to shew not only that the second objection to the credibility of the Evangelist's account of a census in the dependent kingdom of Herod, is in itself unfounded, but also that it may be completely removed by the positive evidence of

¹ 1 Macc. ii. 65, 66; iii. 1.

² As we say "in the time of the French Revolution," meaning a definite period of French history, although there has been more than one revolution in France.

the existence of such a census derived from other historical sources.

III. The third objection is, that Joseph and Mary were not "taxed" in their place of residence, Nazareth, but in the home of their family, Bethlehem; while in accordance with the laws of the census of Roman citizens, persons were obliged to repair for taxation to their ordinary places of residence, or the chief towns of the district. In answer to this objection, it has been shewn by Huschke¹ that Roman law required the individual rather to be "taxed" where he had his *forum originis*, which was of course far from being always identical with his place of residence, or the capital of his district.² I must however express my doubt whether the text of Luke's narrative is sufficiently satisfied with this archæological correction. For Luke does not make Joseph travel to Bethlehem, "the city of David," because it was his *forum originis*, but because he was "of the house and lineage of David" (διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατρὶᾶς Δαυὶδ).³ Or is it capable of actual proof that all the descendants of David, nay all the *πατρίαι* Δαυὶδ, had their *forum originis* in Bethlehem? We however by no means allow the premiss on which this objection rests, viz. that the place of the census must have been determined in accordance with the regulations for a census of Roman citizens. Having already, on the one hand, seen that the census of the Empire decreed by Augustus had no essential connection with a census of Roman citizens generally, since it was an universal provincial census, with what justice can we look for uniformity in the regulations of the two? But is not a census the regulations of which

¹ pp. 116—120.

² Cf. p. 86, *supra*.

³ The above words indicate a very accurate acquaintance with the Jewish system of families. (Cf. Winer, *R. W. B. s. v. Stämme*.) *πατρίς* (= בית אבות) Δαυὶδ is the higher idea in relation to *οἶκος* Δαυὶδ, but the lower in relation to *בית* and *משפחה*. An *בית* comprised several *πατρίαι*, i.e. all the families that could prove their descent in the male line from this *בית*. A certain number of *משפחות* or *ביתים* constituted a *Tribe* *שבט*, of which, as is well known, there were twelve, Numb. i. 2, 18; Jos. vii. 14; 1 Sam. x. 19, 21. Besides it is plain from Micah v. 1 that Bethlehem was the seat of an *בית*.

proceeded from Rome, one and the same thing with a census of Roman citizens? Admitting, however, that that census of the Empire was really, with certain modifications, a census of Roman citizens of more extended character than usual, then, on the other hand, the only theory on which we have succeeded in conceiving, or rather proving the historical reality of a census of Palestine during the sovereignty of Herod, is that it must have been carried out in a mild form, and one adapting itself as much as possible to the national peculiarities and constitution of the Jews. From which it follows, that if Luke had told us that the census had been carried out according to strict Roman rule, it would have at once given rise to a doubt of his historical accuracy; but that Luke, or his authorities, were in truth well informed about the Herodian census is plain, since they have neither confounded the form in which it was conducted with the universally known form of the Roman census, nor with that of the census under Quirinus,¹ which at least was very familiar to the Jews. And further, if we develop the idea more fully that Augustus, in ordaining a census in the kingdom of Herod, would have been likely to adapt himself as far as possible to the Jewish nationality, we shall see an *à priori* reason for thinking that he would, when practicable, have regard to the divisions into tribes and families which had come down from the earliest times; and consequently, to that element of Jewish nationality, his regard to which is asserted in Luke ii. 4, and that with such a knowledge of the facts of the case,² that even on that account alone it is impossible to question the truth of his report. But it cannot have been mere political prudence which dictated this line of action to Augustus, but also the nature of the case,³ especially if, as is probable, that census was a mere

¹ If Josephus is correct, the census related only to the province of Syria, and the former dominions of Archelaus which had at that time been added to Syria. It could therefore have hardly been taken with any regard to the tribal connection of the Jews. This change may perhaps have been one of the characteristics which rendered it so hateful.

² Cf. preceding page, note 3.

³ Even the ordinary Roman census took account of an individual's social relations, and that in later as well as in earlier times, since he

census capitem,¹ specially arranged for the better raising of the poll-tax.² For in an enumeration of the Jewish nation, the very groundwork of which lay in its division into families, the labour of carrying it out must have been essentially facilitated by the public genealogies³ long since kept by the Jewish authorities. But on the other hand, it would be a complete misconception of the case were we, for the purpose of explaining why Joseph and Mary travelled to Bethlehem for the census, to appeal to a passage in the Digests,⁴ which states that every one was obliged to give in an account of his land in the chief town of the district in which it lay; since, on one hand, we do not know that Joseph or Mary possessed a landed estate at all, still less one in Bethlehem (the contrary would be far more likely); and on the other hand, Luke's text makes Joseph travel to Bethlehem because he was "of the house and lineage of David."

IV. The fourth objection is grounded on the statement of the Evangelist that Mary accompanied her husband to Bethlehem. This, say they, was neither necessary according to the laws of the Roman census, nor probable, considering her pregnancy. This objection is undeniably the most insignificant of all. With regard to the second half of it, the improbability of Mary's taking the journey in consequence of her condition, the critic would, I think, be a little puzzled were he asked whether he is so thoroughly acquainted with the wants and feelings of Mary at that time, as to be able to pass so categorical a verdict. Putting on one side the fact that women in similar

had to give in his *nomen*, *prænomen*, his *pater* or his *patronus*, his *tribus* and *cognomen*. Huschke, p. 118.

¹ The census of Quirinus was, on the contrary, a *census bonorum*. Josephus styles it ἀποτίμησις τῶν οὐσιῶν.

² Cf. pp. 93, 99.

³ These were the δέλτοι δημόσιαι mentioned by Josephus, whence, as he tells us, *Vita*, § 1, he derived his own genealogy. This is also indicated by the term ἡ δωδεκάφυλος, in the *Protev. Jacob*. c. 1. Cf. Thilo, *Cod. Apocryph.* i. p. 166.

⁴ *Digest*. 50. 15 (*de Censibus*), L. 4. § 2: "Is vero qui agrum in alia civitate habet in ea civitate profiteri debet in quo ager est; agri enim tributum in eam civitatem debet levare in cujus territorio possidetur"

circumstances give way to abnormal impulses, it is surely at least just as probable that Mary, especially amid the bustle and tumult of a census, should have accompanied Joseph to Bethlehem in order to be near her natural protector, as that she tarried behind. Where possibilities of this kind are allowed any weight, the best attested facts of history may be stigmatized as unveracious. As regards the other half of the objection, it is certainly true that in a census of Roman citizens the wife had not to appear personally.¹ This too is quite what we should expect, since the Roman census stood in the closest relation to the rights of a citizen. The case is different with the taxing of foreigners decreed by Rome: for there its essence depended on certain payments, which had nothing to do with the rights of a citizen. In this case, women also, if liable to any taxation, had naturally to make a personal appearance.²

V. If then, in spite of the fragmentary character of the information with regard to the nature of the census of that period which has come down to us, we have been enabled to give such answers to the first four objections, as to do away with all reason for doubting the credibility of Luke's relation concerning the nature and arrangements of the census placed by him at the time of our Lord's birth, we may now pass on with greater confidence to the consideration of the fifth objection, viz. that which relates to the precise date given by the Evangelist. It is urged that by the words *ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*,³ he has confounded the supposed census under Herod with that of Quirinus, which must have been held at least nine years later, 759 A.U.C.⁴

But if this objection is to have any degree of probability, we must be able to shew that the historical, or more

¹ The passage quoted by Tholuck from Dionys. Halic. iv. 15, proves no more than that women and children had also to be specified at a census. Winer had already shewn this, *R. W. B.* s. v. Schätzung. Cf. Huschke, p. 121.

² See the examples given by Huschke, p. 122, which enables us to decide how far the conjecture of Kühnöl, Olshausen, and others, that Mary was an heiress, is necessary.

³ Luke ii. 2.

⁴ Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13. 5; xviii. 1. 2.

accurately speaking, the chronological character of Luke's writings is *in general* of such a nature (especially as he promises to give special attention to the succession of time¹) that chronological errors would be nothing unusual. We think however that we are entitled to assume that his Gospel on the whole bespeaks no ordinary degree of historical and chronological knowledge. Proofs of this will be furnished in the progress of our work.² Viewing his Gospel therefore simply as a connected whole, it must appear *à priori* improbable that the Evangelist has made so gross a blunder in this particular case. And when we come to consider the nature of the case more clearly, we shall discover further arguments in his favour. The Evangelist professes his intention of writing carefully (*ἀκριβῶς*). Now is it conceivable that he should have been ignorant³ that the celebrated and well-known census of Quirinus was contemporaneous with the transformation of Judea into a Roman province, and cannot therefore have been held at the close of the reign of Herod the Great, the period at which he places the birth of Jesus? Or, if he was ignorant of this, could he not, with the expenditure of a very little conscientious labour, have learnt it from some other source? But further. Luke himself mentions the census under Quirinus,⁴ speaks of it as a taxing universally known,⁵ and in several particulars gives evidence of an acquaintance with it perfectly harmonizing with the account of Josephus. On the other hand, as we have seen, he gives thoroughly true and correct details of the census held at the birth of Christ. Is

¹ Luke i. 3.

² See on this characteristic of Luke, Tholuck, *Glaubwürdig. d. Evang. Geschichte*, p. 161—177, 378.

³ Luke's own Gospel supplies an indirect proof that he did not consider the conversion of Judea into a Roman province as nearly contemporaneous with the death of Herod the Great, and that he has not therefore altogether left out the nine years of his son Archelaus' reign. We shall find this if we compare the "30 years," Luke iii. 23, with Luke iii. 1. For the sum total of the years from 759 A.U.C., when Judea became a Roman province, to the commencement of our Lord's public ministry, would be 21 years (*vide infra*), i.e. exactly nine years too few.

⁴ Acts v. 37.

⁵ Cf. p. 102.

not then the conviction almost forced on us, that in fixing the date also, he has correctly distinguished between the two censuses, that under Herod and that of Quirinus? From these remarks it will be evident that we cannot admit such an astonishing error, unless we are actually forced to do so; nay that to do so would, even in accordance with a rule that holds good in all ancient MSS., be less admissible than a conjectural alteration of the text,¹ provided it were in any degree probable. In what follows, after first examining the MSS. with the view of establishing the correct text, we shall notice the best and most generally received² modes of solving the difficulty. Perhaps the result will be not only a simple criticism of these attempts, but also a new solution altogether.

The Textus Receptus (Elzevir) of Luke ii. 2, runs: Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. All the various readings, passing over the different modes of writing the name Quirinus, relate either to the article ἡ, which is sometimes given, sometimes omitted, or to the position of πρώτη and ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη. According to the larger edition of the New Testament by Lachmann (Berlin, 1842, Vol. I.), A. has the article ἡ, which is omitted by B.D.³ Lachmann reads: αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρίνου. [Tischendorf, in his eighth edition (Leipsic, 1869), reads αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ ἐγένετο πρώτη, with N, omitting the article ἡ.] We would here simply remark at the outset that the authority of MSS. is in favour of the omission of the article. The internal evidence against the article may be thus stated. In the first place its introduction by a reader or transcriber may be very readily explained, but not its omission. Misunderstanding the true Greek con-

¹ Some conjectural emendations have not the least show of probability, e.g. the alteration of the name Quirinus, or to consider the whole verse a gloss.

² See Winer, *R. W. B. s. v.* Quirinus, for a general critical statement of the exegesis of the passage. While he grants that the holding of an ἀπογραφὴ in the time of Herod the Great is an historical fact, he attributes the name Quirinus to a "lapsus memoriæ" on Luke's part.

³ The article is also wanting in *Cod. Veron.* 131. Cf. Schulz's edition of the N.T., Berlin, 1827.

struction, αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ ἐγένετο, i.e. "this became¹ (not was, since γίγνεσθαι is not identical with εἶναι) an ἀπογραφὴ," or "in consequence of this an ἀπογραφὴ took place," αὕτη was construed with ἀπογραφὴ, and thus of course the insertion of the article became necessary. In the second place αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ would give a sense at variance not only with the well-known historical facts, but also with the Evangelist's intention. For in this case, αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ, "this census," by its intimate connection with the words πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπογράψεσθαι (v. 1), would be characterized as a general provincial census, and consequently a contemporaneous census in all the provinces and kingdoms under the power of Rome would be asserted; which, however, as we have seen, is opposed to all probability, and all existing historical data. It is too equally opposed to the meaning of the Evangelist. For he on the one hand describes the census at the time of our Lord's birth in such a way that it is easy for us to see that one particular census is intended, since he puts it in a definite relation to the time when a provincial governor, Quirinus, was in authority:² while on the other hand, the details that follow forbid us to³ think of any but a census decreed for Palestine.⁴ Besides, it is surprising that the commentators should have troubled themselves so little about the omission or retention of the article, since the sense and construction of the verse depend entirely upon it. On the position of πρώτη we will at the outset only remark that

¹ Αὕτη refers to v. 1, "the circumstance that Augustus issued a decree that all the world should be taxed, became issued in an ἀπογραφὴ;" the pronoun taking the gender of the predicate immediately following, by attraction. Luke viii. 11, xxii. 53. Cf. Winer, *Grammar*, § 63.

² Cf. pp. 74, ff.

³ Gersdorf, *Sprachcharakter. d. n.* 7, p. 213 sq. directs attention to a peculiarity of Luke in placing the demonstrative last, so that he would not have written αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ, but ἡ ἀπογραφὴ αὕτη. Against this, see Bornemann, *Schol. in Luc.* ix. 48, xviii. 11. Gersdorf has, however, proved that such is Luke's rule; nor in this case will the rule have been violated if the article is omitted. Gersdorf, therefore, is wrong in reading αὐτή.

⁴ Cf. what has been already said on the words διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυὶδ.

according to Lachmann, ABb(!)c. have ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο,¹ D. ἐγέν. ἀπογρ. πρώτη, and a. (Verc.) “prima facta est professio,” and that consequently the Cod. Verc., which is the only one that reads πρώτη before ἀπογρ., can hardly be thought to give the true reading.

In order to clear away the difficulty raised by the words ἡγ. τῆς Συρ. Κυρ. it has been assumed² that Quirinus also conducted the census under Herod, and that consequently he had “taxed” Judea twice. But since at the end of Herod’s reign he was not governor of Syria at all,³ we must in this case suppose that he held the earlier census as an extraordinary⁴ imperial commissioner, perhaps as one of the “viginti viri” mentioned by Suidas. In

¹ Cod. C, also, according to Tischendorf’s latest collection, *Cod. Eph. Syr. rescriptus*, Lipsiæ, 1843, gives the reading : αὕτη η ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονευούτος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.

² This view, which has been accepted by Neander (*Life of Christ*, Bohn’s edit. p. 23, note) and Hug, *Gutachten über das Leben Jesu von Dr. Strauss* (Frieberg, *Zeitschr. f. Theol.* Vol. i. part 2) has been defended at great length, and with much learning by Sanelemente.

³ We are perfectly well acquainted with the names and dates of the governors of Syria during the whole time that is of importance for our enquiry, i.e. up to the death of Herod, 750 A.U.C. Sentius Saturninus filled the office 744—748, and his successor Quintilius Varus was still governor when Herod died, Nisan 750. Quirinus was not appointed till after the banishment of Archelaus, 759, and held the office till 764. We may also remark that Varus must have succeeded Saturninus, not later than the summer of 748, for we have a coin of Antioch bearing his image and the date xxv. This date refers to the *Æra Actiaca*, the 26th year of which began with the autumn of 748. Cf. Sanclem. III. c. 3, 4, p. 338—348. Ideler, Vol. II. p. 394. [A. W. Zumpt however has rendered it probable that Quirinus may have been twice governor of Syria; the first time about the period of our Lord’s birth. See additional note at the end of the chapter.—Tr.]

⁴ Sanelemente considers that Saturninus was governor of Judea at the time of our Lord’s birth, appealing to the words of Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 19: “Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæa per Sentium Saturninum, apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent.” He has been followed by several of those who place our Lord’s birth in 747 A.U.C. It is evident however that this argument is far from decisive, for the New Testament itself supplies far better aids for determining this question than the discordant ecclesiastical traditions, different fathers giving different dates, which may be appealed to with equal justice; while Tertullian is inconsistent with himself, since *Advers. Jud.* 8, he gives 751 A.U.C. as the year of our Lord’s birth.

support of this view the statement of Tacitus¹ has been adduced, which tells us that about this time Quirinus was intrusted with several extraordinary missions in the East. But to say nothing of the objection that any such appointment must remain a mere conjecture, the text of the Gospel appears to protest very decidedly against such a union of offices. For in this case the expression of Luke, ἡγεμ. τ. Συρ. Κυρ., which is certainly intended to define the date of the census under Herod, would be very ambiguous, and therefore very ill chosen, because, to say the least, it might at the same time designate Quirinus as governor of Syria, in which capacity, though not till a later period, he held a well-known census. Besides, the expression could scarcely indicate an extraordinary Imperial Commissioner,² but only the ordinary governor of the province of Syria.

But even if Quirinus is really described as governor of Syria, in v. 2, there is a second mode of defending the chronological accuracy of Luke, viz. by assuming that by this ἀπογραφή the Evangelist really intended the census of Quirinus in 759 A.U.C. This view has been supported by Paulus.³ He wishes to read αὐτῇ, v. 2, for αὐτῇ—which indeed cannot be strictly termed a correction, since the most ancient Codices are written without breathings or accents—and renders it “the first enumeration itself occurred, while Quirinus was governor of Syria.” Ebrard, who in other respects follows him exactly, gives a better translation—“the ἀπογρ. itself occurred—as the first, in the proconsulate of Quirinus.” His view is that ἐγένετο, v. 2, is contrasted with ἐξῆλθεν, v. 1, i.e. the actual holding of the ἀπογρ. with the issuing of the decree for it—and that the latter took place while Quirinus was governor of Syria. And yet if it was only the decree which went forth under Herod, while the ἀπογραφή did not take place

¹ *Annal.* III. 48.

² There would however be nothing to oppose to this interpretation, if with *Syr. Hier.* we omit τῆς Συρίας. For then Quirinus would be merely spoken of as at the head of the ἀπογραφή.

³ *Exeget. Hdbch.* Vol. I. 1, p. 174. He is followed with slight modifications by Krabbe, Mack, Ebrard, and Tholuck. All but Ebrard however deem the change of αὐτῇ into αὐτῇ unnecessary.

till nine or ten years later, how came it that everybody set out on the journey at this time, to have themselves "taxed"? We cannot possibly explain *v.* 3 with Paulus, "And yet all journeyed," since his view as elsewhere given, would lead us to expect the exact contrary. He thinks, however, that the ἀπογραφὴ really commenced under Herod, but that it was not brought to a conclusion until the time of Quirinus. But in that case if what took place in Herod's reign was something more than the mere issuing of the edict, and we are to keep up the antithesis between *v.* 1 and *v.* 2, instead of ἐγένετο we should surely have found a word indicating not the simple occurrence but the completion of the ἀπογραφὴ. Besides, *v.* 2 is taken by him as a parenthesis, in order to connect καὶ ἐπορεύοντο, *v.* 3, immediately with *v.* 1. This construction is allowable, if with Paulus we limit πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, to Palestine. But when Ebrard correctly enough understands this of the *orbis Romanus*, and yet at the same time agrees with Paulus in regarding *v.* 2 as a parenthesis, he must at the same moment have abandoned his views again, since he there interprets the ἀπογρ. mentioned *v.* 1, of an ἀπογρ. of Palestine. A fresh objection to his view is presented by *v.* 3: since if this verse is immediately connected¹ with *v.* 1, πάντες must signify all the inhabitants of the Empire. "Augustus decreed that the whole Empire should be taxed, and all went to be taxed." And, consequently, it would be asserted that at the time of our Lord's birth a census was held contemporaneously in all parts of the empire; a statement at variance with history. However, the greater part of these mistakes would never have arisen if critics had observed that all external and internal evidence leads to the conclusion that the article ἡ, *v.* 2,² must be struck out. For had this been done *v.* 2 would certainly not have been taken as a parenthesis, still less would the αὐτῇ have been written for the true reading αὐτῇ. Now, if adopting the correct reading we try to explain the passage in Luke, in accordance with the views

¹ For the reasons already given we must reject the conjecture proposed by Kühnöl, Olshausen, and others, which is indeed contrary to all MS. authority, that *v.* 2 is to be looked on as a mere gloss.

² Cf. p. 107.

of these critics, it would run thus—"In the days of Herod, Augustus issued the decree that all the empire should be taxed. In consequence a first taxing came to pass (in Palestine) when Quirinus was governor of Syria. And all (the inhabitants of Palestine) went to be taxed, every one in his own city." It must then be likewise assumed that the census had been already begun under Herod, but having been interrupted by his death,¹ was not completed till the time of Quirinus: and further, that the date of the census is defined by the year in which it was concluded. This is certainly quite in accordance with ancient precedent: in this passage² however it involves a considerable degree of harshness.

It is however possible that the student may not be satisfied with this solution of the difficulty. If so we may in conclusion—thus exhausting the whole round of possible solutions, unless indeed one were disposed to erase the name Quirinus altogether—attempt to prove that Luke himself has distinguished the census under Herod from that of Quirinus. This has been done by those³ who have understood *πρώτη* in a comparative sense (almost like *προτέρα*) and made the genitive *ἡγέμ. Κυρίνου* dependent on it. Now that the superlative joined with the genitive may include the notion of the comparative, is a point which can be subject to no doubt either on philosophic grounds, or in accordance with the *usus loquendi*. Huschke, following Hermann,⁴ says that "this construction was employed if it was intended to intimate that anything was at one and the same time greater with reference to another, and, by itself, the greatest." Regarding the origin of this form of expression, it might perhaps be more accurately described by saying that the speaker by the addition of the genitive, immediately limits the opinion expressed in the widest generality by the super-

¹ This assumption agrees most admirably with the date we give to this census, which places it a very short time before the death of Herod.

² Cf. Huschke, p. 12, note 22.

³ By Clericus, Perizonius, Ussher, Petavius, Noris, Ernesti, etc. among older writers; in later times by Tholuck and Huschke.

⁴ *Ad Viger.* p. 717.

lative. We may adduce as examples of this idiom, σείο δ' Ἀχιλλεῦ Οὐτις ἀνὴρ προπάρουθε μακάρτατος οὐτ' ἄρ' ὀπίσσω,¹ i.e. "No one was previously a happier,—viz. happier than thou;" οἰζυρώτατον ἄλλων,² *miserrimum unum ante alios*.³ ὃς καὶ ἀλλοτριώτατός τοι τῶν παίδων καὶ ἡσσον κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι,⁴ "who is to thee not only the very strangest, viz. stranger than thy children" (the words refer to one who does not belong to the class of children), "but also is less dear to thee than thy husband." Ἐλπίσας τὸν πόλεμον μέγαν τε ἔσσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων.⁵ Λεπτότατον γὰρ πάντων τῶν ὑγρῶν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλαίου.⁶

We are indebted to Huschke for having taken the trouble to collect a crowd of examples in illustration of this use of πρῶτος. One can only regret that he has not distinguished with sufficient accuracy the instances in which it retains its superlative force from those in which it is used in a purely comparative sense⁷ like προτέρα—a use which is very familiar and is also mentioned by Passow in his Lexicon under πρῶτος. To the second category, the well-known passages John i. 15, 30, πρῶτός μου, xv. 18, πρῶτον ὑμῶν, may also belong; while, on the other hand, a very apposite example of the former class is found in 2 Maccab. vii. 41, ἐσχάτη τῶν υἱῶν ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησε, "The mother died last of all, and later than her sons." Now it has long been familiar to everybody that πρῶτος, especially when used as a comparative, may govern a genitive; but it has been questioned how far this construction was admissible in Luke ii. 2, because it would then have after it the genitive of a participial clause: instead of which it was argued⁸ we ought to have

¹ *Odys.* xi. 481, 482.

² *Ib.* v. 103.

³ See Nitzsch on both these passages, *Erklärend. Anmerkungen zu Homers Odyssee*, and the examples there quoted.

⁴ Herod. iii. 119.

⁵ Thucyd. i. 1. Other examples from Thucydides are collected by Poppo, *Prolegomena*, 172, 173.

⁶ Aristot. *de Sensu*, c. 4.

⁷ This construction is connected with the radical meaning of the word, which being derived from πρῶ, includes, of itself, the idea of comparison.

⁸ In later times by Krabbe, Winer, Meyer, Olshausen, etc.

had the construction with the infinitive τοῦ ἡγεμονεύειν or ἡ ἡγεμονεύειν τὸν Κυρίνον, or at least the article τοῦ before ἡγεμονεύοντος, by which it would have received the form of an adjective agreeing with Κυρίνου. But if it is admitted that πρώτῃ, when used as a comparative, may govern a genitive, there appears to me no rational ground why this genitive may not be the genitive of a participial clause. The case is essentially the same as when ἀκούω, for example, which generally governs a genitive, is followed by a genitive of a participial clause, as in Homer,¹ σέθεν ζώντος ἀκούων, "hearing that thou art alive." But examples may also be adduced to prove that the genitive of a participial clause is actually used in this sense. Among these is the example already quoted by Tholuck, Huschke, and others from the LXX., ὑστερον ἐξελθόντος Ἰεχονίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ.² = ὑστερον ἡ ἐξελθεῖν Ἰεχ. ἐξ Ἱερ. Also ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀξίως ἔσται γάμος μείζων φέρεσθαι σοῦ καλῶς ἡγουμένου,³ which Hermann renders (*in loc.*), "Mihi nullum merito connubium potius erit, quod consequar, quam quod tibi probetur." I am inclined to take a similar view of the two passages, σοῦ πράσσοντος εὐτυχῶς... οὐδὲν κτήμα τιμιώτερον,⁴ and immediately afterwards, τί γὰρ πατρός θάλλοντος... ἀγαλμα μείζον.⁵ Besides, it is clear from the nature of the case, that in every instance where the comparative does not possess a temporal signification, as in Jerem. xxix. 9, it may also be regarded as a genitive absolute. I can, for example, interpret the first passage from the *Antigone* so as to render σοῦ καλῶς ἡγ. "if thou approvest of the marriage," and then complete the object of the comparison indicated by the genitive, "than the marriage approved by thee." The only question is, which of the two explanations recommends itself the most by its greater simplicity; which can, I think, scarcely admit of a doubt. However, we have at any rate an example in Jerem. xxix. 2, which cannot be set aside.

The foregoing remarks may have proved that the syntax at any rate offers no obstacle to our regarding the

¹ Il. xxiv. 490. See, for other examples of this construction, Matthiæ, *Gr. Gramm.* II. § 548.

² Jerem. xxix. 2.

³ Soph. *Antig.* 637, 638.

⁴ *Ib.* 701, 702.

⁵ *Ib.* 703, 704.

genitive ἡγεμ. Κυρ. as dependent on the πρώτη. Now, we may add that the text when critically corrected even favours this construction. We saw, when we gave Lachmann's collations, that ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη sometimes precedes and sometimes follows ἐγένετο.¹ If now we accept the former as the true reading, the passage may be rendered thus: "In consequence of which there came to pass a first ἀπογρ. in relation to Quirinus' governorship of Syria," i.e. "the ἀπογρ. was a first one in relation to that governorship." In this case however the arrangement of the words does not immediately indicate the close connection of πρώτη with the genitive ἡγεμ. Κυρ. This is more clearly seen, if, with several MSS., we read ἀπογρ. πρώτη after ἐγένετο; since then πρώτη stands immediately before this genitive, and we can also render it "this was an ἀπογρ., a first one ἡγεμ. Κυρ." This latter construction becomes almost necessary, if, as I believe we ought to do, we read αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ ἐγένετο, πρώτη² ἡγεμονεύοντος τ. Σ. Κυρ. That ἀπογρ. ἐγέν. πρώτη. is the original reading might indeed be proved by the fact that the two other readings, ἀπογρ. πρώτη ἐγέν. and ἐγέν. ἀπογρ. πρώτη, can be derived from it most readily. If for example we wished to connect πρώτη more closely with ἀπογρ. we could either write πρώτη after ἀπογρ. or ἀπογρ. after πρώτη. In the first case, the reading ἀπογρ. πρώτη ἐγέν. arose; in the second, the reading ἐγέν. ἀπογρ. πρώτη. If then the reading given above be the original one, even the arrangement of the words would of itself shew that the participial clause ἡγεμ. Κυρ. is not to be referred to the whole clause, but entirely to πρώτη.

¹ p. 107. Lachmann is in error in reckoning *Cod. b. Veron.* as one of those which place the words πρώτη ἀπογραφὴ first. According to Blanchini, who, as Lachmann informs us, *Præf.* p. xii., has been verified by Buttmann, this MS. rather belongs to the same class with the Codex Bezae, D, as Scholz and other critics have already stated.

² If we suppose that πρώτη is to be read immediately before ἡγεμ. the conjectural reading πρὸ τῆς for πρώτη, which, though removing an acknowledged difficulty, is not necessary, might be defended, while πρὸ τῆς before ἐγένετο yields no sense. If we place πρώτη before ἐγένετο, the conjectural reading πρὸ τῆς before ἡγεμ. must have been entirely unauthorized.

In conclusion, when we consider the excessive improbability of the view that Luke has confounded the period of the government of Quirinus with the reign of Herod, it scarcely requires to be pointed out that the whole connection of ideas in the passage gives the most decided support to our interpretation.

But inasmuch as *πρώτη*, as we have seen, can take the genitive after it, both when it has merely its pure comparative meaning, and also when it keeps its superlative force, it still remains to be decided which of the two meanings is to be adopted here. Our conclusion however can have no more than a general hermeneutical importance, and can exercise no influence on the credibility of the Evangelic account, which would be confirmed in either case. We then declare ourselves in favour of the latter view, and explain *πρώτη ἡγ. τ. Σ. Κ.* as follows, "the *ἀπογρ.* took place as the first, and before Quirinus was governor of Syria." Our reasons for this are, (1) the census under Herod was really the first census of Palestine decreed by Rome. Why then should we not adhere to the literal meaning of *πρώτη*? (2) The Evangelist seems to have considered it remarkable that the birth of Jesus should have coincided exactly with the first Roman census of Judea, which was at the same time an integral part of a census of the empire. Unless I am mistaken, he wishes to tell us that the particular country of Palestine was in truth received into the complex body of the universal Roman empire, at the very time that the Universal Redeemer was to be born in it: and that by His being registered in the returns of the Roman empire, He was from the very first designated not merely as a citizen of the petty province of Palestine, but as belonging to the *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη*—the whole World itself. In this too I discover the same tendency to regard his subject in its wide universal aspect, which is repeatedly observable in this Evangelist, *e.g.* in the Genealogy of our Lord, as compared with that given by Matthew.

We may then, I think, remove this fifth and last objection, by stating that so far is Luke from confounding the census of Quirinus with that under Herod, that on the contrary, he expressly distinguishes the one from the

other. If, therefore, the statements of the Evangelist with regard to the census of Palestine occurring about the time of our Lord's birth prove, on a closer consideration, capable of being fully defended against all the suspicion, nearer or more remote, by which this portion of his history has been specially assailed; this example alone, "instar omnium," would warrant us in recognizing in him an historian and chronologer of the most trustworthy and careful character. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!"

Having now established the historical character of the census related in Luke, we will, in conclusion, seek more accurately to determine its date. We have fixed it broadly at the close of the reign of Herod the Great. However, in the course of the investigation, we have obtained a more exact date, if we are correct in our belief that the insurrection of Matthias or Theudas was principally occasioned by a census held at that time.¹ For since we know exactly the day of his execution, March 12th, 750 A.U.C., the census must have been held a short time previously. Consequently, if as the Evangelist informs us, Jesus was born at the time of this census, His birth must have taken place in the winter of 749—750 A.U.C., and at least before the 12th of March, 750, the day when Matthias was put to death.²

IV. *The Fourth Datum.* This is furnished by the words ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἦν ὥσεί ἐτῶν τριάκοντα,³ which give the age of Jesus at the time of His Baptism, or the commencement of His public ministry. If then we can by some other means accurately fix the date of this event, we shall only have to subtract ὥσεί ἔτη τριάκοντα to obtain the year of our Lord's birth. This *datum* therefore, which is derived immediately from the life of Christ as a member of a complete chronological system, would, if such a system be

¹ Cf. pp. 97 ff.

² [Wieseler's mode of treating the subject of the census was complete and exhaustive at the time it was written. Since then, however, Zumpt's Dissertation has thrown a fresh and important light on the whole question. For a summary of his arguments and conclusions, see the additional note at the end of the chapter.—Tr.]

³ Lu. iii. 23.

recognized at all, of itself suffice to prove our point, even though our previous demonstrations should be found imperfect, or even worthless.

Our first duty will be to develop the sense and signification of the words. This is one of the texts which have been interpreted in the most different manner,¹ especially as the MSS. offer no small number of various readings. Most of these, however, we may pass over, since the words with which our Lord's genealogy is introduced, *ὡν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἠλὶ κ.τ.λ.*, as well as the genealogy itself, have at present no further claim on our attention.

The ordinary text runs thus, *καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος*. According to the authorities cited² by Schulz and Lachmann, there can be no doubt on diplomatic grounds of the authenticity and correct position of the words *καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς*. Since then of these various readings we disregard *ὡς* for *ὡσεὶ* as not at all affecting the sense, the only question left to be decided is whether *ἀρχόμενος* should stand before or after *ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκ.* According to Lachmann, the three MSS. ADa (Verc.) confirm the *textus receptus* in the position of *ἀρχόμενος*; on the other hand, three other MSS. Bb (Veron.), c (Colbert) have *ἀρχόμενος* before *ὡσεὶ ἐτ. τριάκ.*, a reading which is followed by the Vulgate, Origen, Irenæus ("quasi incipiens xxx. annorum"). So much weight did Lachmann indeed give to the authorities adduced, that he did not venture to express his decided approval of the established reading, but placed the other over against it as of equal authority. But in Schulz's edition of the New Testament, we find a crowd of MSS. which Lachmann, according to his principle of criticism, could make no use of in his recension of the text, nearly all of which³ place *ἀρχόμενος* first. Manuscript authority

¹ Cf. Wolf. *in loc.*, *Cur. Philolog. et Crit.*; Köcher, *Analect. Philol. et Exeg.*; Kühnöl, *Comment.*

² According to Tischendorf *Cod. C.* is defective in this passage.

³ e.g. L. 1. 118. 131. 209. *Germ. I.* To the same class belong all codices which place *ἀρχόμενος* first, even though the structure of the sentence in other respects is somewhat different, e.g. 13. 69. 124, which read *ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἀρχόμενος εἶναι ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα.*

therefore alone is enough to warrant our regarding the reading ἀρχ. ὥσεί ἐτ. τριάκ. as of equal authority with the *textus receptus*.¹

This decision of external criticism will however be fully confirmed by the internal, *i.e.* by the interpretation of the verse in question.

For if we read ἀρχόμενος after ὥσεί ἐτ. τριάκ., passing over the absurd construction proposed by Pauli, ἀρχόμενος ὦν ὡς ἐνομίζετο,² there appear to be only two interpretations to select from. (1) The genitive ὥσεί ἐτῶν τριάκ. may be made dependent on ἀρχόμενος. So Meyer, "Jesus found Himself at the commencement of about thirty years." Bengel,³ however, replies to this with the forcible objection, "Initium hoc loco innuitur non anni trigesimi, quod neque cardinalis numerus neque particula *quasi* ferebat." (2) The other explanation is more generally accepted (Bengel, Grotius, Kühnöl, de Wette, Olshausen, etc.). "And He, '*i.e.* Jesus,' was about thirty years old, when he began," *i.e.* to teach, or to execute His Messianic office. I have nothing to say against the sense of this explanation, but I confess that like Meyer I am unable to see how ἀρχόμενος, "beginning," or "at the beginning," can in this passage express this sense, without the addition of διδάσκειν. The case is evidently quite different with ἀρχόμενος, Acts xi. 4, where the infinitive ἐκτίθεσθαι may be supplied from ἐξετίθετο which follows immediately. Passages like Acts i. 22, x. 37, are still less to the purpose. And then how dislocated is the whole construction! The structure of the period is in this way already interrupted by the explanatory ὁ Ἰησοῦς,⁴ while if we adopt this view of the passage, the isolated position of the participle ἀρχόμενος is still more offensive, for then we should have a

¹ [This is the reading adopted by Tischendorf in his 8th critical Edition. Leipzig, 1869.]

² For a refutation of this, see Kühnöl and Meyer *in loc.*

³ *Gnomon N. T.* *in loc.* It would be better to connect ὥσεί with ἀρχόμενος, and read ὥσεί ἀρχόμενος ἐτ. τριάκ. As far as we can judge from the Latin translation, Irenæus appears to follow this reading in the passage quoted above.

⁴ We cannot render it, "And Jesus Himself (not others merely) was about 30 years old," for in this case αὐτός could not be separated from Ἰησοῦς by ἤν.

second participle ὦν immediately following, in an entirely different relation to the verb of the principal clause ἦν.

On the other hand, the language of the Evangelist becomes perfectly clear and intelligible, if, following the many and excellent authorities named above, we read ἀρχόμενος before ὥσει ἐτῶν τριάκ., and then connect the whole thus: Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος, ὥσει ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὦν υἱός, κ.τ.λ., i.e. "And He was—viz. Jesus, when He began," or, as we should say, "at the beginning—about thirty years old, being the Son, etc." The following reasons, apart from the untenableness of the other, convince me of the correctness of this interpretation. (1) The bare adjunct, ὁ Ἰησοῦς, by which αὐτός, immediately preceding, must be explained, has in it at first sight something surprising, since after the verses which immediately precede it, no one can doubt that it refers to Jesus. But as we understand the passage, this clause is not only not superfluous, but actually essential, since if ἀρχόμενος had stood alone, the reader would have naturally been led to connect it directly with ἦν (ἦν ἀρχόμενος = ἤρξατο). (2) Luke himself appears to favour our interpretation of ἀρχόμενος, in Acts i. 1, 2, where he gives a brief summary of the contents of his Gospel, if, i.e., we have distinct grounds for the opinion that ἤρξατο in v. 1 refers to ἀρχόμενος in this passage, and that the words ὦν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας—ἀνελήφθη should be rendered "that which Jesus did and taught at the commencement,¹ until the day that He was taken up to heaven;" a view which must be maintained in opposition to Meyer, both on account of the emphatic position of ἤρξατο before ὁ Ἰησοῦς, and its close connection with the succeeding ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας. (3) And lastly, the object and connection of the section, Luke iii. 23—38, is also perfectly plain. Its object is to introduce into the narrative of the Baptism of Jesus, vv. 21, 22, two statements, first of His age at that time, and secondly of His Messianic genealogy. But since the beginning of the fourth chapter is immediately connected with the account

¹ For examples of this use of ἤρξατο with the infinitive, see Acts xxvii. 35, ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν, "primus comedit," and Fritzsche on Matt. xvi. 21.

of the Baptism, its general import is that of a dependent or parenthetical explanatory clause.¹ Its form is also in accordance with its character as a dependent explanatory clause,² for we have first the copula, then the pronoun, then the neuter verb, ἦν, etc.

We now proceed to investigate the meaning of the word ὥσεί: a question of no small importance in a chronological point of view. We may just mention that even Scaliger³ regarded it merely as the so-called “*ᾤ veritatis*” of Hebrew, *i.e.* as merely superfluous. In refutation of his view, however, as well as that of Anger⁴ and many other commentators who, we must not forget, had no other way of making the verse square with their chronology, we shall now go on to prove that ὥσεί does not bear the indefinite chronological character they assign it, but that it must be taken in its closest sense, and with precision. According to my view Luke intends to say that Jesus, when He was baptized, was ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, but not *exactly* thirty years old, but ὥσεί ἐτ. τριάκ., which may imply

¹ If our construction of *v.* 23, and our rendering of this verse in connection with what goes before and what follows be correct, it follows that ἀρχόμενος coincides chronologically with βαπτίζόμενος, for αὐτός, *v.* 21, refers to the same person as βαπτίζόμενος, *v.* 21; consequently our Lord's baptism by His forerunner John is pointed out as the ἀρχή of His Messianic office, an idea which is indeed expressed in the words of the Baptist, John i. 31, 33, and which we see from the words of Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* p. 145, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλᾶν χρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα, p. 110, μέχρις ἂν ἐλθὼν Ἑλλᾶς χρίσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιήσῃ), was an element of the Jewish view of the Messiah, grounded on מָשִׁיחַ, Ps. ii. 6.

² Even Huschke, p. 97, has overlooked the intimate connection between Luke iii. 22, and iv. 1 sq., for he interprets *v.* 23 as follows: “and the same (to whom this very remarkable anointing with the Spirit and recognition by a voice from heaven had happened) was Jesus, who (consequently as a man) of about 30 years old began (His ministry) being,” etc. The Evangelist could not have spoken in this manner, except at the close of a longer section treating of Jesus. But apart from this, how hard and formal is the rendering of ἀρχ. ὥσεί ἐτ. τριάκ.; and, finally, the principal clause, “the same was Jesus,” would be merely a repetition of a statement already sufficiently well known from *vv.* 21, 22. All these refinements, however, are adopted with the view of proving that ὥσεί ἐτ. τριάκ. may include a period of about 35 years, since Huschke places our Lord's birth in 747 A. U. C.

³ *De Emend. temp.* p. 540 sq.

⁴ pp. 18—20.

either, "He was thirty years old, and a little under, but not so much as to make Him only twenty-nine," or "He was thirty years old, and a little over, but not so much as to make Him quite thirty-one." However, the latter is the most natural view.¹

Taken by itself the clause, "Jesus was about thirty years old," might no doubt also mean that He was some years older or younger; since the number thirty may be taken as a round number, which however is only admissible when we are speaking of thirty-one or twenty-nine years, or generally of some number not divisible by ten. The probability that the number thirty was not intended to be taken exactly, would certainly be much increased if it could be proved that, in accordance with some custom or law of His nation, it was necessary for our Lord to have been thirty years old at the entrance on His office: for it is well known both from Paul,² and more particularly from Luke,³ that Christ as much as possible adapted Himself to the customs and laws of His fathers. Writers have usually referred the "thirty years" mentioned here to the Mosaic ordinance,⁴ which enjoined that the Levite should be thirty years old when he entered his office. But what has Jesus, the Messiah, to do with the official standing of a Levite? Besides, according to Numb. viii. 23—26, the Levite need be only twenty-five, and subsequently, according to 2 Chron. xxxi. 17, cf. 1 Esd. iii., even no more than twenty years old when he entered on his office. It might rather have been expected that Jesus would conform to the regulations of the priests; since, according to Ps. cx. 4, as well as the general expectation of the Jews, He was, as Messiah, to be "an High Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek."⁵ The Old Testament however is silent as to the official age of the priests. The enquiry therefore

¹ Similarly we find, Luke i. 56, *ὥσει μῆνας τρεῖς*, i.e. (compared with vv. 26, 57) probably a little more than three months, but certainly not merely two months, or four, or even five, six, seven, etc. We have an example of the second class, Luke ix. 28, *ὥσει ἡμέραι ὀκτώ*. Cf. Mark ix. 2, Matt. xvii. 1.

² Gal. iv. 4, *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον*.

³ Luke ii. 21, 22, 42, 51.

⁴ Numb. iv. 3, 23, 30, 47. Cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 3. "Twenty years," 1 Ch. xxiii. 24, is certainly an ancient correction of the text, from 2 Ch. xxxi. 17.

⁵ Cf. particularly the Epistle to the Hebrews.

is open to us, whether this was left undetermined by law, or was subject to the same rule as with the Levites. The latter view certainly appears to me¹ the more probable, and it is, I think, confirmed by the tradition of the Talmud, that no priest² was admitted to the performance of his office before his twentieth year. Under this hypothesis the thirty years of our Evangelist might certainly have an internal reference to the canonical age³ of the Priests and Levites, as defined in the Pentateuch (*u.s.*), which, according to 1 Chron. xxiii. 3, was in force in the normal period of Jewish history, I mean that of David ; in which case our Lord would have at once made it clear, by the very time of life at which He came publicly forward, that from that time He purposed to exercise the priestly office of Mediator. Schoettgen, in his *Hor. Hebr.* quotes, on this verse, a passage from the *Avod Sara*, fol. 15, 2, where the question is answered what should be the age of a *vir doctus*, or Rabbi, before he can instruct others. As a rule, forty⁴ is named, but several exceptions are immediately mentioned. It is of course open to question whether this rule was in existence in the time of Christ, and, further, we have no positive proof, even if we are to regard Him somewhat in the light of a Rabbi, that it was essential for Jesus, in accordance with the custom of His time, to commence His public life as soon as He had attained his thirtieth year. Still less can we adopt any age as incontrovertibly defined by the custom of the time, if we regard our Lord's office as an unfettered, extraordinary office resembling that of the Prophets.

¹ Bähr, *Symbolik*, Vol. II. pp. 41, 42.

² The assumption of the High Priesthood by Aristobulus, when only a lad of 17, was certainly exceptional, and took place at a time when such great illegalities in the mode of conferring the high priesthood prevailed, as to call forth the bitterest complaints on the part of Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 10.

³ It is open to question whether the canonical age of 30, fixed in early times for a presbyter (Rheinwald, *Kirchlich Archäologie*, § 17), had reference to Jewish precedent, or the example of Christ.

⁴ This rule was probably derived from the example of Moses, the chief of all teachers of the law, who, according to tradition, after being instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, began first to care for the welfare of his brethren, *ὡς ἐπληρώτο αὐτῷ τεσσαρακονταετῆς χρόνος*, Acts vii. 22, 23, where see Lightfoot.

Besides, whether our Lord chose His thirtieth year for the commencement of His public ministry with reference to an existing custom of His people or not, so much at least is plain, that the selection of this climacterical year in the development to a riper manhood, may of itself be considered very suitable, and that it was also in perfect accordance with the circumstances of the time.

My reasons for not regarding the thirty years of the Evangelist as a round¹ number are however of a totally different kind, and are based partly on the general character of the Gospel, partly on the meaning and connection of the verse as already explained. (1) Luke makes it his object in general to speak with chronological precision.² The presumption therefore is that he has done so in this passage, especially since he is treating of an epoch in the life of Jesus of the highest importance, viz. the commencement of His public ministry. (2) According to the interpretation of this verse, which we have endeavoured to demonstrate to be the correct one, ὥσεί ἐτῶν τριάκ. must be regarded as the predicate of the principal clause, while the determination of the date of His baptism appears to be the secondary object of the verse. (3) And finally, and this is the strongest reason, while the Evangelist informs us that Jesus was about thirty years old, he appends the supplementary clause, clearly to guard against all mistake, that he is here speaking of Jesus as ἀρχόμενος, i.e. at the commencement of His ministry. This supplementary clause not only furnishes us with a most striking instance of the Evangelist's anxiety to give as accurate a chronology as possible, but is only intelligible on the supposition that he does not intend ὥσεί to be understood so indefinitely that it may denote several years beyond thirty. For since we learn from the three Synoptists that our Lord's public ministry lasted at most about three years, or as some think no more than one year, the end as

¹ Reinold, Huschke, Paulus, and others have, on the contrary, urged the hypothesis, which certainly is not without foundation, that Luke, without saying anything expressly on the subject, intended by his mention of 30 years, to allude to the legal age of the priests, to prove that it is to be taken as a round number.

² Cf. especially iii. 1, ii. 1, 2.

well as the beginning of His ministry might have been indicated by such a phrase as ὥσεί ἐτῶν τριάκοντα.

On these grounds it seems to me certain that Luke can only intend to say that Jesus, at the time of His Baptism, was thirty years old, and a little more (or a little less), but neither thirty-one nor twenty-nine. Now since the first Passover which John mentions¹ must be placed in the year 781 A.U.C., the Baptism of Jesus (as will be proved, subsequently) took place at latest at the close of 780 A.U.C. and probably in the summer of that year. If then we reckon the thirty years backwards, from the year 780, or more exactly from the summer of that year, we shall arrive at the summer of 750 A.U.C.: while if we remember that Luke places our Lord's birth in the lifetime of Herod the Great, who died at the beginning of the April of that year, we shall be satisfied that Luke, by adding ὥσεί to the "thirty years," marks out our Lord as a few months above,² not below the age of thirty years. However, starting from the summer of 750 A.U.C. the word ὥσεί will only conduct us with certainty to the beginning of 780 A.U.C.; hardly much further, for otherwise the age of our Lord must have been given, not as about thirty, but, on the contrary, as about one and thirty years. This test of the calculation will have proved that Luke's chronological datum is as precise and consistent as could be desired.

Proceeding now to compare the general results of our investigation of the four chronological data given in the Gospels, by the help of which we proposed to determine the year of our Lord's birth, we shall discover the following remarkable agreement. (1) If Jesus was born in the lifetime of Herod the Great, He must have been born before April 750 A.U.C., since Herod died at the beginning of that month. This is the extremest *terminus ad quem* of the birth of Jesus. (2) The star which led the wise men from the East to Jerusalem to visit the Messiah, appeared during the months of February, March, and

¹ John ii. 13.

² ὥσεί would have the same force if we were to assume it as proved that our Lord, in compliance with a custom of His country, did not enter on His office till He had completed His thirtieth year.

April, 750 A.U.C. (3) The census which was the cause of our Lord's birth taking place at Bethlehem, must have been held at the close of the reign of Herod the Great, probably a short time before the 12th of March, 750 A.U.C., on which day the insurgent Matthias, the Theudas of the New Testament, was executed. (4) About thirty years, reckoned back from the Baptism of Jesus,¹ i.e. the summer of 780 A.U.C., brings us back again to a date somewhat earlier than April, 750 A.U.C., but scarcely earlier than the beginning of that year.

These four chronological data lead us to the same year,² 750 A.U.C., and, what is more, the same period of the year, viz. its beginning. While then we consider it not impossible that Jesus was born towards the end of 749 A.U.C., 5 B.C., yet we must on these grounds hold it to be far more probable that He was born in one of the early months of 750 A.U.C., = 4 B.C.³

Having thus determined the year of our Lord's birth, we must now proceed in the second place to enquire in what month, and on what day this occurred. And this

¹ Luke iii. 23.

² Early ecclesiastical tradition hesitates between the years 750, 751, 752, A.U.C. as the date of our Lord's birth. It is not till a somewhat later period that it seems to have adopted the view of Dionysius that Jesus was born in 754 A.U.C. Cf. Gieseler's *Eccl. Hist.* i. 54, Clark's edit.; Ideler, *Hdbch. d. Chron.* ii. p. 385.

³ This will perhaps be the fittest place to mention briefly the latest theory about the date of our Lord's birth contained in the little work of W. D. Block, *Das wahre Geburtsjahr Christi*. And this I do, because the surprising nature of its conclusions may perhaps startle the unlearned reader, and lead him to the belief that no certain conclusions can be arrived at on this point. The object of the author is to prove that our Lord was born 19 years before the Dionysian era, i.e. 735 A.U.C. The prevailing characteristic of the work is a most uncritical over-estimate of the apocryphal accounts of the later Rabbis, and the key to it is the idea that the era of the Seleucids, or *Minjan staroth*, does not date from the autumn of 312 A.U.C., but 19 years earlier, 331 A.U.C. See Ideler, i. 531. Ecclesiastical writers were in the habit of employing this era, which unfortunately was mistaken by Dionysius Exiguus, who placed it 19 years too late. This gave rise to great chronological confusion (e.g. placing the death of Herod the Great in 739 A.U.C.), which the author (who, however, furnishes much useful matter about the Jewish Calendar) thinks himself bound to support to the uttermost.

we do partly by a critical survey of the various statements of ecclesiastical tradition, partly under the idea that the conclusions already arrived at may be confirmed by other arguments, and even determined with still greater chronological accuracy, partly with the view of making a more searching investigation into the history of our Lord's childhood, so specially the object of the attacks of hostile criticism, in the hope of in this way proving its authenticity in some other particulars related to that now to be discussed.

The first Christians very early made the month and day¹ of our Lord's birth the object of their investigations. Clemens Alexandrinus² states the various opinions held on this point in ancient times, particularly³ in Egypt, where the science of Chronology especially flourished. Only two of the dates fixed, however, have had any acceptance in the Church, viz. the 25th of December, on which day we still keep Christmas, and the 6th of January, the Feast of the Epiphany.⁴ Both of these

¹ See Ittigius, *De ritu fest. nat. Chr. die xxv. Dec. celebrandi Dissertat.*

3. Salomon van Til, *De anno mense et die nati Christi*. Jablonsky, *De origine fest. nativ. Chr.* opp. ed. Water, Vol. III. p. 317.

² *Stromata*, I. p. 339, 340, ed. Sylburg.

³ According to Clemens, our Lord's birth has been placed on the following days: 25 Pachon = May 20; 15 Tybi = Jan. 10; 11 Tybi = Jan. 6; 24 or 25 Pharmuthi = Ap. 19 or 20. The dates Jan. 6 or 10 might certainly be referred simply to His Baptism, since the words immediately preceding οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι may be explained in this way. But as Jablonsky has rightly decided, these are to be rendered, "the followers of Basilides keep the day of His birth as that of His Baptism." We thus see how it happened that Clemens could speak of the day of His Baptism in this connection, and also discover the meaning of the difficult passage καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος . . . ἑορτάζουσι. Epiphanius expressly tells us that the Egyptians kept our Lord's Birth on the 11th Tybi, *Adv. Hæres.* 51. 29. We have evidence too that the birth and baptism of our Lord were kept together on the Feast of Epiphany, which occurred on that day. Further on we shall see Clemens' own view on this point.

⁴ In opposition to Neander and Augusti, I agree with Gieseler, *Ecl. Hist.* I. 52, 273, in holding that, in the Eastern Church, the Feast of the Epiphany, even in very early times, was kept at the same time as the Festival of the Birth and of the Baptism of our Lord, although the latter appears to have predominated. The two days were made to coincide, because ὥσεῖ, Luke iii. 23, did not admit of a

dates¹ appear to occur in the passage cited above, from Clement. How stands it now with their historical truth?

We will first speak of the 25th of December. If we combine this date for our Lord's birth with the other corresponding dates, viz. March 25th as the day of the Annunciation, June 24th as the day of the Baptist's birth, and lastly Sept. 24th as the day of Elizabeth's conception (a date presupposed by the preceding one), it can scarcely, I think, be doubted, apart from all other reasons, that we are not here dealing with strict historical dates, inasmuch as these four dates correspond exactly to the four divisions of the year² in the Julian Calendar as settled by Julius

more precise chronological determination. From the 4th century there was a division between the East and West on this point; the former regarding Dec. 25 as the Festival of the Birth, the latter keeping the Epiphany on Jan. 6. Both, however, agreed in treating the Epiphany simply as the Festival of the Baptism, not that of the Birth. Its original connection with the Birth of our Lord is indicated by its being kept as the Festival of the three Kings, which soon became its predominant character in the West. Cf. Rheinwald, *u. s. p.* 209.

¹ With regard to Jan. 6, this is clearly made out. It would also be plain with regard to Dec. 25, if we agree with Ideler, *ii. p.* 387, that the Christians of Egypt, confounding the 9th month of the Jewish Calendar with their 9th month, spoke of the 25th of Pachon instead of the 25th of Kisleu, which nearly corresponds with our December.

² For the sake of analogy, I may mention that the day of our Lord's death also was formerly wont to be identified with the Vernal Equinox, or Mar. 25. Augustin. *De Trin.* iv. 5: "Octavo calendas Aprilis conceptus traditur Christus quo et passus. Natus traditur octavo calendas Januarias." The great antiquity of this view is clear from the fact that it was expressed in Hippolytus' Easter Cycle of 112 years, and that of the Latin Church of 84 years. Ideler, *ii. p.* 421. The view attributed by Clement, *Strom.* l. c., to some good calculators, that our Lord died on the 25th of Phamenoth = Mar. 21, is based on a better acquaintance with the true vernal equinox at that period. Ideler, *i. 78, ii. 199.* Subsequently our Lord's Resurrection was also placed on Mar. 25. Ideler, *ii. p.* 331. These dates are not strictly historical, but essentially allegorical and typical. It may be that they were connected with the idea that Christ, the second Adam, the new creation, ought to correspond with the creation of the world, which was wont, for reasons we can readily understand, to be placed on the 25th of March. Ideler, *ii. 279.* They are only so far forth historical that our Lord's death and resurrection must have happened about that time.

Cæsar.¹ But while we cannot deny that, in the want of any other certain historical dates, these four dates have been very skilfully selected, and that they furnish very abundant materials for allegorical interpretations, we can hardly allow that any mere idealistic view, which may still be assumed, will entirely account for their origin.² Thus, for example, the interval between the birth of Jesus and that of the Baptist evidently rests on Luke's statement.³ But after we have proved that the birth of Jesus must at all events be placed in the winter six months, 749—750 A.U.C., we are, I think, entitled to assume, since each of these four dates establishes the correctness of the other three, though certainly only in the main outline, that they correctly furnish us with the true time, though only very generally,⁴ in which the circumstances narrated took place. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that the second view mentioned above, which was more generally accepted by the Church, and was perhaps of earlier origin, fixes on almost the same date for our Lord's birth, viz. on the 11th of Tybi = Jan. 6.

To test the historic value of these statements, it would be well if we could ascertain their origin. That they preserve to us the authentic date of the birth of Jesus, is *a priori* improbable when we consider the nature of the

¹ Cf. Ideler, ii. p. 124.

² The view maintained by Jablonsky, *u. s.*, following Petavius and Harduin, that the choice of Dec. 25 for the Christmas Festival in Rome was determined by a desire to give the necessary counterpoise to the license of the pagan festival of the "Natalis Solis invicti," which was held in Rome on the same day, certainly explains the origin of our Christmas Festival in a purely historical way, i.e. without the intervention of any ideal element. It is difficult, however, to divest this view of a degree of one-sidedness, since it severs this date from all connection with the three corresponding dates already mentioned; while it may be confuted on the ground that Dec. 25 appears to have been generally recognized as the date of our Lord's birth, before it became a Church Festival at all. And yet it is easy to conceive that the choice of Dec. 25 for the Christmas Festival may have been at the same time, for the reason given by Jablonsky, particularly acceptable to the Christian community in Rome.

³ Lu. i. 26.

⁴ See also the similar conduct of the first Christians in determining the day of our Lord's death and resurrection, note 2 on preceding page.

subject, and of the tradition relating to it. However, it is quite possible that this date might have been based upon some tolerably precise calculation derived from the Gospels, or some other ancient sources. As this supposition, as I shall presently endeavour to show, is not *ipso facto* improbable, I must now proceed to refute a theory which, though pretty widely received, I deem erroneous.

Jablonsky¹ endeavours to prove that the Festival of the *inventio Osiridis* was celebrated in Egypt on the 11th of Tybi = Jan. 6. He argues that since the Basilidians in Egypt, as we learn from Clemens Alexandrinus, celebrated the birth and baptism of Christ on this same day, we may consider it as certain that they borrowed the date of the feast from the heathen festival of the Sun-god Osiris; just as the Christians in Rome borrowed theirs from the natal feast of *Sol invictus*. The Feast of the Epiphany would thus have passed over from the heretical sect of the Basilidians to the Catholic Church. The accuracy of this reasoning is, I think, open to objection on many accounts. Indeed the entire premises on which it is so ingeniously built, are not improbably erroneous. The Festival of the *inventio Osiridis* was not celebrated on the 6th of January, but on the 17th or 18th of November. The principal passage regarding this Festival of Osiris is in Plutarch,² where we learn that Osiris disappeared in the month Athyr, about our November, and that then four days of mourning were kept from the 17th to the 20th of Athyr = Nov. 13th—17th.³ Immediately after this we read τῇ δ' ἐννάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κάτεισι, and that then the Priests brought out the holy Ark with the golden κιβώτιον into which drinking-water had been poured: immediately on this the cry of joy was raised by those who were present ὡς εὐρημένον τοῦ Ὀσίριδος. According to Plutarch⁴ therefore the 19th of Athyr was the date of

¹ Jablonsky has been followed by Creuzer, *Symbolik*, i. p. 763, and Ullman, *ibid.* iv. Appendix, 2.

² *De Isid. et Osirid.* c. 39.

³ The correctness of this statement is granted by Jablonsky. It is placed beyond all doubt by the parallel *de Is. et Osir.* c. 13 and 42.

⁴ I would further remark, that we gather from Plutarch that Osiris was not represented in this festival as the Sun-god, but as the

the *inventio Osiridis*. Jablonsky not only changes the day by writing ἐνδεκάτῃ instead of ἐννάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, but also the month by introducing μηνὸς Τυβί: and so he deduces the exact contrary of what Plutarch says. It may indeed be correct that the date of the 19th or rather the 20th¹ of Athyr is not suitable, because the festival of the "inventio" was one of joy, while on the twentieth of that month, the four days' mourning beginning with the 17th, was still being celebrated. This, however, hardly justifies such a radical correction. It certainly appears an unwarrantable assumption that the name of the month should have been altogether lost. On the contrary, errors in numbers repeatedly occur. I conjecture that instead of the 19th, the 20th of Athyr, ἡ εἰκοστή, was the original reading, for which the 19th, ἡ εἰκοστή μῆας δεούσης = the ἐννάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, was afterwards substituted, because in what preceded really only a four days' celebration was spoken of, which, beginning with the 17th, must have been already over by the 21st. In this case the *inventio Osiridis* would have fallen on the 21st Athyr = 17th or 18th of November,² and would therefore, according to the context, have immediately succeeded that mourning. Jablonsky, however, believes that he is warranted in making the above correction of Plutarch's text from the striking similarity between the Feast of the Epiphany and this Festival of Osiris, a vessel of water being used

fertilizing principle, as set forth by the water of the Nile, with which the ceremonial of the Festival was in perfect accordance.

¹ He is speaking of the night of the 19th, and therefore of the commencement of the 20th of Athyr.

² I am confirmed in the above view, which commends itself to me by its simplicity, by the fact that Clemens Alexandrinus has actually placed our Lord's birth on the 21st of Athyr. From the death of Commodus, Dec. 31, 192 A.D., to the birth of Christ, he reckons (*Strom.* I. p. 340) 194 years, 1 month, 13 days, so that in his view, as Sal. van Til has already remarked, our Lord was born on Nov. 17, 751 A.U.C. = according to the Egyptian mode of reckoning, 21st of Athyr. For "one month" brings us to Nov. 30, after which the 13 days have still to be subtracted. Besides, even if it is thought that we have made a mistake as to the day of Athyr mentioned by Plutarch, his words would at any rate prove, and this is what we are chiefly concerned with, that the eleventh of Tybi cannot be taken for the "terminus" of the Festival.

in both. But as Epiphanius¹ remarks, since this custom arose not in Egypt only, but in other parts of Christendom also, we may certainly conclude that it cannot have had its origin in any local type peculiar to pagan Egypt. We should rather conclude that the custom observed by the early Christians at the Epiphany was connected with its identification with the day of our Lord's Baptism, implying that by His Baptism Christ had hallowed the element of water.² For the same reason Christ's miracle at the marriage at Cana, the changing the water into wine, was transferred to the Feast of the Epiphany,³ a miracle in which the Gospel narrative mentions the drawing of water. Why, then, should we have recourse to heathen practices to explain this rite, when it has been already sufficiently illustrated by the original signification of the Christian festival? Whether the heathen element may not have been in certain points intermingled with the Christian is a point we cannot determine. Since then all idea of a local and Egyptian origin for the festival of Epiphany falls to the ground, I am all the more inclined to assent to Neander's view,⁴ that it did not, as Jablonsky holds, pass over to the Catholic Church from the detested sect of the Basilidians, but that its date was not originally peculiar to them, but was also observed by the Christians of Syria and Palestine. Now although the view so generally adopted by the primitive Church that Jesus was born on the 6th of January, might certainly have some historical tradition or calculation to rest on, and would also accord very well with the conclusions we have previously arrived at, yet we must be on our guard against recognizing it as so thoroughly authentic as, without further enquiry, to lead us actually to modify our view

¹ *Hæres.* LI. 30.

² This is not a mere fancy, but has been repeatedly stated by the Fathers, e.g. Chrysostom, *Homily on the Baptism of Christ*, II. p. 369 D. ed. Montfaucon: αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐβαπτίσαστο καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἠγάσσε φύσιν διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ μεσονυκτίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην ἔπαυτες ὑδρευσαμένοι, κ. τ. λ. For further proofs, see Rheinwald, *Kirchl. Archäologie*, p. 214. [*Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 618.]

³ Epiphanius. *Hæres.* LI. 29.

⁴ *Church History*, I. 411, Clark's Edition.

in accordance with it. Such a modification, if at all possible, can only be effected by means of our canonical Gospels, not by the help of traditions which, especially on this point, are so greatly at variance with one another.

(1) One such datum is afforded by the Gospels in the statement in Luke that Zacharias the father of the Baptist belonged to "the order of Abia,"¹ the eighth of the twenty-four orders of Priests arranged by David,² and as a member of it was offering incense in the Temple³ at the time that he received the promise of his son's birth. Since then Elizabeth became pregnant soon after this,⁴ and Mary in the sixth month from that time,⁵ the addition of about fifteen months at the conclusion of the Temple-service of the course of Abia at that time, or, with the Evangelist, to the time *ὡς ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ*, would give us a very precise date for our Lord's birth. The question then is, whether we are able to fix the time when Zacharias officiated in the Temple, with such accuracy? Now as we have already proved that Jesus was born at the beginning of 750 A.U.C., nothing is easier than to do this, provided that during the whole period that the Temple-service continued uninterrupted in Jerusalem, up to the period of our Saviour's birth, only one single fact can be ascertained by which the sacerdotal cycle then in operation, and the periodic succession of its separate courses, could be reduced to certain rule. For if we can determine this, we have only to ascertain whether the class of Abia officiated in the autumn of 748 A.U.C., and if so at what precise date. And if it should prove that it was really at that time engaged in the Temple-service, we should at once have a striking proof of the correctness of our view of the date of our Lord's birth.

¹ Lu. i. 5. The Greek term *ἐφημερία* is used because each of the 24 classes had to execute the priest's office for a certain number of days, viz. a week, so that every 24 weeks each was once in office. For the continuance of this ordinance of David, in the times after the Captivity, see Winer, *R. W. B.* "Priester."

² 1 Chron. xxiv. 4 sq.

³ Lu. i. 8, 9.

⁴ *Μετὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας* seems to be a vague statement of time, but it is to be supplemented by *τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ*, which precedes.

⁵ Lu. i. 24, 26.

The celebrated Scaliger¹ was the first who employed Luke's mention of the course of Abia as a chronological element. His calculation, however, was necessarily erroneous, both because of the mistaken date he assigns to our Lord's birth, which he places 751 A.U.C., and from the want of a certain *terminus a quo* to start from. As such he takes, according to 1 Macc. iv. 28 sq., the 25th of Kisleu, 165 B.C., assuming that as at that time the Temple-service after long interruption was restored by Judas Maccabeus, the first order of priests, that of Jehoiarib, began to officiate, and thus calculating that the 28th of July, 750 A.U.C., was the day on which the course of Abia went out of office in the days of Zachariah. But it is a mere hypothesis that at the Feast of the Dedication the *first* course of priests entered on their ministry, and it is at any rate equally probable that the course which was next in order before the interruption of the Temple-service resumed office; an idea which has been well developed by Paulus.²

Salomon van Til, on the other hand, and Bengel,³ have shewn the right method of procedure, at least as far as concerns the *terminus a quo* of the calculation, by availing themselves of the Talmudical tradition,⁴ which expressly states that the Temple was destroyed by Titus on the 9th of Ab, 70 A.D., just when the first course of Jehoiarib had entered on their office. Although it is of itself not at all improbable that the memory of the Jews has faithfully preserved this liturgical fact belonging to an epoch which could never be forgotten by them, yet we are fortunate enough to possess other arguments in favour of its credibility. The date of this destruction is preserved to us by Josephus.⁵ He tells us that it happened on the 10th of Lous, the same month and day that Solomon's temple was destroyed by the Babylonians. Now we learn

¹ *De Emendat. temp.* and *Lib. III. Canon. Isagog.* p. 303—305, ed. Amstel. 1656.

² *Exeg. Handb.* Lu. i. 5.

³ *Ordo temp.* ed. Hellwag, p. 201 sqq.

⁴ Tract תרין, fol. 29. 1. Scaliger, *De Emend. temp.* Append. p. 56. Bengel, *Ord. temp.* l. c.

⁵ *De Bell. Jud.* VI. 4. 5. 8

from 2 Kings¹ that this was destroyed on the 7th, or as Jeremiah states,² on the 10th of Ab. Josephus, then, and the Talmud agree perfectly as regards the month. Do they also as regards the day? Josephus names the 10th of Lous or Ab (evidently referring to Jeremiah lii. 12); the Talmud the 9th, at evening, i.e. disregarding the Jewish mode of expression,³ which considers the evening of the previous day as the commencement of the following day, the 8th of Ab, at the time that it was verging to the beginning of the 9th. In perfect accordance with this, Josephus informs us⁴ that the Temple was first set on fire⁵ on the 8th of Lous = Ab. When therefore he afterwards names the 10th of Lous, his object is only to point out the end of the destruction of the Temple, in order to make the parallel with Jer. lii. 12 as exact as possible. The correctness of the date given by the Talmud is also vouched for by the Jewish Calendar of Festivals, in which the 9th of Ab stands as a general fast-day in memory of the destruction of the Temple.⁶ Another proof of correctness of the date given in the Talmud may be deduced as follows. The true new moon for the month Ab fell in 70 A.D., in the evening of Thursday, the 26th of July, and therefore the new moon after the phasis, or the 1st of Ab, fell on Saturday, the 28th of July. Consequently, the 8th of Ab or the 4th of August was again a Saturday, and if the course of Jehoiarib began its ministry on the 9th of Ab = 5th of August, they entered office, according to our mode of reckoning, on the evening of the 4th of August (the 8th of Lous of Josephus) immediately the Sabbath was over. This result is in complete accordance with the arrangement of the *orbis hieraticus*, which ordained that each sacerdotal course should commence their seven days' ministry at the close of the seventh day, or the Sabbath.⁷

¹ 2 Kings xxv. 8.

² Jer. lii. 12.

³ This is a point which must be attended to. From a forgetfulness of this have arisen the misconceptions and complaints of the inaccuracy of the date given in the Talmud, which may be seen in Paulus, *u. s.*

⁴ *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 4. 1 and 2.

⁵ Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα τὸ πῦρ ἐπεκράτει.

⁶ Cf. Ideler, i. 528 and 567.

⁷ See Lightfoot *On Lev.* i. 5. His opinion, however, about the

If then we assume, as we may now reasonably do, that the course of Jehoiarib entered on its Temple-service on the 5th of August, 823 A.U.C., or rather on the preceding evening, it follows that the class of Abia was in office in 748 A.U.C., from the 3rd to the 9th of October. Between the 5th of August, 823 A.U.C., and the 3rd of October, 748 A.U.C., there are 74 years, 10 months, and 2 days, among which were 19 leap years, and therefore altogether 27,335 days, or 162 sacerdotal cycles, and 119 days. The excess of 119 days equals 7×17 days, and consequently brings us from the day when the first course, that of Jehoiarib, entered again on their office, to the day when the course of Abia, the seventeenth from the end, did so. Since Zacharias left the temple on the evening of the 9th of October, and might therefore have reached his home on the 10th, if we assume nine months from that date for the pregnancy of Elizabeth, and add to it the six months, mentioned Luke i. 26, and therefore reckon a year and three months in all, we should obtain the 10th of January as the date of the birth of Jesus. And it deserves notice that the Basilidians fixed the day of our Lord's birth and baptism, some on the 10th, others the

duration of the "orbis hieraticus," that, though it only comprised 24 weeks, it came round exactly twice in the year, is not only very improbable of itself, but is also directly refuted by the only passage he brings forward in proof, viz. a gloss by a late writer to *Midr. Coheleth*, fol. 82. 4. For if the first sacerdotal class regularly began its ministrations on the 1st of Nisan, it would follow either that the Jewish year must have always begun with a Sabbath, an idea which must be decidedly rejected, or that the classes did not always enter on their duties at the close of a Sabbath, as the author of the gloss himself affirms. But there is a still more decisive argument, for the author, in his explanation of the statement of Midrash that there were seven complete (שבעה שלימות, Lev. xxiii. 15) weeks between the Passover and Pentecost, when in the interval the class of Joshua (the ninth) and Zachariah (the tenth) did not officiate, presupposes that the 1st of Nisan only sometimes fell on a Sabbath, and that it was only sometimes that the first class began its duties on a Sabbath. For otherwise there would have been always complete weeks between the Passover and Pentecost. Certainly the other classes helped those who were officiating in the extraordinary and numerous services at the great festivals, but the regular duties, especially the daily sacrifice, were reserved for those whose turn it was to minister. Cf. Mishna, Tr. *Succa*, c. 5, § 7, ed. Surenhus. Tom. II. p. 279, and Scaliger, *l. c.*

6th of January.¹ This latter date seems only a modification of the former, and perhaps had its origin from calculating the nine months of pregnancy more exactly as nine lunar months, which leads us precisely to that date. We seem then in that ancient date for the festival of Epiphany really to possess a calculation of the date of our Lord's birth² based on a solid foundation, i.e. the mention of the course of Abia: nor need this cause us any surprise, since that date had its origin in the circle of Oriental, perhaps Palestinian Christians. Be that as it may, it is however clear that the text of the Gospel does not offer the necessary warrant for any such minute accuracy as this. On the contrary, the calculation has been based on several very unlikely hypotheses, e.g. Elizabeth's conception is placed on the first day that Zacharias could possibly have reached his home after the completion of his ministry. Thus much however we may safely deduce from our data, that Jesus could hardly have been born before the commencement of January, 750 A.U.C., and probably a little later.³

¹ Clemens Alex. *Stromat.* i. p. 339: Φασι δὲ εἶναι τὸ πεντεκαδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τὴν πεντεκαδέκτῃ τοῦ Τυβι μηνὸς (Jan. 10) τινὲς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐνδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς (Jan. 6).

² Tradition has usually placed the period of Zachariah's service in the Temple about the month of October, and this even at a later period, when it went so far astray as to make him officiate as High Priest on the Day of Atonement (10th Tisri), or on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles (15th Tisri). It is perfectly obvious that this view is completely at variance with the Gospel narrative, which only allows us to think of an ordinary priest. See Jablonsky, *u. s.* p. 340. Lightfoot, *Luke* i. 5.

³ The view that our Lord was born at the close of December might be just made to tally with the mention of the course of Abia, if, on the one hand, we took for granted that Elizabeth's conception was contemporaneous with Zachariah's departure from the Temple, and on the other, interpreted the expression, "in the sixth (current) month," with the utmost possible precision. [Greswell, *Proleg. ad Harm.* p. 123, makes the course of Abia enter office Sep. 30, and leave it Oct. 7; thus almost exactly coinciding with Wieseler's calculations. Caspari also calculates that in the year 748 A.U.C. the course of Abia would come out of office on the 10th of April and the 1st of October. *Chronol. and Geograph. Introd.* p. 57, Eng. transl. Caspari adds, not without sufficient reason, "How little reliance is to be placed upon conclusions of this kind will be evident to all."—Tr.]

(2) Now if we take into account the succession of the separate portions of the narrative of which the history of our Lord's childhood consists, we shall obtain a new criterion for determining the month of our Lord's birth. The presentation of Jesus in the Temple¹ must, as I hope to shew further on, have preceded the visit of the Magi to the infant Christ.² Now since Herod was still alive at that time, and also when immediately afterwards the parents of Jesus took their journey into Egypt, and when, almost contemporaneously, the massacre of the children of Bethlehem of "two years old³ and under" took place, while according to the law of Moses⁴ it was necessary that new-born children should be presented forty days after their birth; it follows that at latest Jesus must have been born forty odd days before Herod's death, which brings us to February, 750 A.U.C., as the latest date for the birth of Jesus.

(3) Since, therefore, for the reasons above stated, our choice lies in point of fact between the months of January and February, it is possible that Luke's statement,⁵ that at that time shepherds passed the night by their flocks in the open air, or perhaps in huts, may enable us to decide between the two. From this indeed it has been inferred that our Lord's birth cannot have occurred in the winter half-year, since the tradition of the Talmudists⁶ informs us that the flocks were driven out in March, and were brought home again at the beginning of November. We cannot, however, suppose⁷ that this statement, which

¹ Lu. ii. 22 sq.

² Matt. ii. 10—12.

³ It deserves notice that the heathen writer Macrobius confuses the "Massacre of the Innocents" with the execution of Antipater, the son of Herod the Great. *Saturnal.* ii. 4: "Cum enim audisset (Augustus) inter pueros quos in Syria Herodes rex Judæorum infra bimatum jussit interfici filium quoque ejus (Antipatrum) occisum, ait 'melius est Herodis porcum (*ſv*) esse quam filium (*vſov*).'" For it is plain that the two events must in fact have been nearly contemporaneous. The execution of Antipater however took place five days before Herod's death. Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1. Cf. xvii. 7.

⁴ Lev. xii. 2 sq.

⁵ Lu. ii. 8.

⁶ Cf. Lightfoot, *Luke* ii. 8.

⁷ For the temperature of Palestine, and Jerusalem in particular, at the present day, see Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland*, Vol. iii. p. 103 Robinson, Vol. ii. p. 305. Winer, *R. W. B. s. v.* "Witterung."

is of later date than Luke's account, is intended to be taken so strictly as that in no one of the many years in which certainly the temperature did not always remain quite the same, and in no single place, and under no special circumstances, the flocks ever left their winter-quarters before March. For example, the great variations of temperature in certain districts, connected with the enormous difference of altitude between closely adjacent places, must be taken into account.¹ If the Talmudists either could not or would not enter into any more precise detail, their statement must naturally be looked on as general and vague: indeed it is easy to see that they have only given, quite generally, the period of the early and the latter rain as the extreme limits within which the flocks of Palestine were accustomed to be driven forth. Besides, the Evangelist never once asserts that the flocks were at that time passing the night in the open air at a season when they were regularly accustomed to be out of doors, every year, or that at that time they had been driven out everywhere. Considering the great crowds of people which were at that time collected in Bethlehem for the census, and who on account of the deficiency of room were in such great straits to find a lodging, that, as we see from the case of the parents of Jesus, they were fain to put up with stables as quarters for the night, we

¹ Schubert, p. 104, says, "In the present position of science, the question may well be asked, where in the world has such a juxtaposition of elevation and depression been seen or heard of as here—in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem—where, in a journey of seven hours, in a straight line, one finds a depression of at least 600 feet below the level of the sea, and an elevation of more than four times as much above it?" [The plunge is even more extraordinary than here stated; the northern end of the Dead Sea is 1317 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; the Mount of Olives 2724 above it.—Ta.] Robinson, Vol. II. p. 99, says, "The barley-harvest precedes the wheat-harvest by a week or a fortnight. On the 4th and 5th of June, the people of Hebron were just beginning to gather their wheat; on the 11th and 12th the threshing-floors on the Mount of Olives were in full operation. We had already seen the harvest in the same state of progress on the plains of Gaza, on the 19th of May, while at Jericho, on the 12th of May, the threshing-floors had nearly completed their work." Josephus observes of Jericho and the adjacent district, *De Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 3: ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ περιέχον οὕτως εὐκρατον ὥς λινοῦν ἀμφιένυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους νυφομένης τῆς ἄλλης Ἰουδαίας.

can very well conceive that the shepherds of Bethlehem, if the temperature at all allowed it, may have at that time already driven their flocks into one of the warmer valleys in their vicinity. On these grounds I believe that we may recognize the statement of the Evangelist concerning the shepherds of Bethlehem passing the night in the open air as historically correct, without on that account being obliged to admit that, in consequence of the statement of the Talmud, it must necessarily bring us down at least to the month of March: a date which would by no means accord with the conclusion we have already arrived at.

If then, bearing the climate of Palestine in mind, we enquire in which month it was most likely that the shepherds would bring their flocks out of their winter-quarters, January or February, we must decide for February. (1) Even at the present day, spring begins to shew itself in February, while January is the very depth of winter, and in the preceding months, November and December, violent and continual rains are wont to fall. Schubert,¹ after remarking that the heat usually continues very great in the autumnal months, says, "and also after the spring rains, which fall in the interval between the Autumnal Equinox and the Winter Solstice, about seven weeks before Christmas, have refreshed the parched ground with their copious streams, the S.W. winds bring again such mild days that the Christmas season is often here one of the most delightful times of the whole year."² As a rule, about the middle of January the cold

¹ p. 107.

² Schubert himself limits the above remark, which evidently refers to Christmas time, by a note, which says, "yet not always." With this we should compare Robinson's description, pp. 505, 506: "The autumnal rains, the early rains of Scripture, usually commence in the latter half of October or beginning of November; not suddenly, but by degrees; which gives opportunity for the husbandman to sow his fields of wheat and barley. The rains come mostly from the west or S.W., continuing for two or three days at a time, and falling especially during the nights. Then the wind chops round to the north or east, and several days of fine weather succeed. During the months of November and December the rains continue to fall heavily; afterwards they return, only at longer intervals, and are less heavy; but at no period during the winter do they entirely cease to occur. Snow often

becomes more settled, and it sometimes freezes even as late as February." Again,¹ "The first tree whose blossoms appear before the period of the latter rain, and, in the deeper valleys, open even before the commencement of the cold days of February, is the Loz or Almond tree: we found the district of Bethlehem and Hebron adorned in March with fruit-trees in blossom, among which were the Apricot, the Apple, and the Pear." It is plain, however, from a comparison of the above-named works, that, as their authors themselves acknowledge, they are insufficient thoroughly to elucidate the relations of the weather and the temperature of modern Palestine.² (2) The climate of Palestine must have somewhat altered in the course of centuries, so that the effects of winter reach further into spring than was the case in our Lord's time. These phenomena manifest themselves everywhere when a country gradually sinks into barbarism, and the gloomy powers of nature are no longer tamed and bridled by the hand and spirit of man as they were of yore. This assertion has been often made with regard to Palestine, and it appears to me to follow necessarily from the following considerations. The legal date for the commencement of harvest was the 16th of Nisan, which not unfrequently fell towards the end of March. According to Robinson,³ the early and the latter rains have at present lost their fixed limits. Several kinds of trees which require a milder climate, *e.g.* the Palm,⁴ have almost entirely dis-

falls in Jerusalem in January and February to the depth of one foot or more; but does not usually lie long. The ground never freezes; but Mr. Whiting had seen the pool at the back of his house (Hezekiah's) covered with thin ice for one or two days. Rain continues to fall more or less through the month of March, but is rare after that period. During the present season there has been little or none in March, and indeed the whole quantity of rain had been less than usual."

¹ p. 114.

² [On the climate of Palestine, see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II. pp. 692, 693. Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 90. *Edinburgh New Philos. Journ.* for April, 1862; also a paper by Schouw, Vol. VIII. of same periodical.]

³ *u. s.* p. 306.

⁴ Schubert says, p. 114, "together with the victorious power of the land, the token of victory, the palm, has been lost. The palm groves

appeared, as Schubert expressly states, when speaking of the Flora of Palestine. Besides, the dates we have furnished for the time of harvest in various districts of Palestine, which must be the ordinary dates, for if not Robinson would have stated it, lead to the conclusion that the grain ripens considerably later than in our Lord's days. At that time, the harvest must, in obedience to the law, have been everywhere completed by the commencement of Pentecost, or fifty days after the 16th of Nisan. In conclusion, this view may be confirmed by several quotations from Josephus, when, for example, he states "that Herod set out with his army to besiege Jerusalem before the end of winter." For since he took Jerusalem in Sivan, the third Jewish month = our June, after he had besieged it for five months, the end of winter¹ must at that time have coincided with the beginning of February.

The result of our investigation as to the exact date of our Lord's birth, then, is as follows—that the *day* cannot now be determined at all; while, as regards the months, our choice lies between the close of December, January, and February, of which, however, December is the least probable, January more so, and February decidedly the most probable of all.

of Jericho have almost entirely vanished." What the character of the vicinity of Jericho was in earlier times we learn from Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 3. From iii. 10. 8, we learn that Palms grew also on the delightful shores of the Sea of Galilee, *οἱ καύματι τρέφονται*.

¹ Cf. p. 46. Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* i. 17. 8. *Λήξαντος οὐ λωφῆσαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος*, *Ant.* xiv. 15. 14.

ADDITIONAL NOTE on the earlier proconsulate of Quirinus as maintained by Aug. W. Zumpt, *De Syriâ Romanorum provinciâ ab Cæsare Augusto ad T. Vespasianum; Commentationes Epigraphicæ*, Part II. pp. 84—104.¹

Zumpt shews² that M. Titius was succeeded in the government of Syria by C. Sentius Saturninus, 9 B.C.³ He was followed by T. Quintilius Varus, so well known from his disastrous campaign in Germany. He is first mentioned by Josephus,⁴ in connection with the trial of Antipater by his father Herod, which took place 5 B.C. Herod died at the beginning of April in the following year. Varus appears on coins referred to by Noris⁵ and Eckhel,⁶ as governor of Syria in the years 6, 5, and 4, B.C., and it is certain, from facts recorded by Josephus, that he retained his office at least till the end of 4 B.C. After this, we lose sight of him till we find him appointed to his command in Germany, where he perished with his legions in the Teutoburgian Forest 7 A.D.⁷ Now just at this point there is a remarkable hiatus in both of Josephus' historical works; his narratives passing over a period of ten years by no means barren of incident, from the accession of Archelaus till his deposition and banishment. He therefore affords us no help in determining when Varus left the province. The next governor of Syria expressly recorded is P. Sulpicius Quirinus⁸ (the Cyrenius of St. Luke and Josephus) in 6 A.D. Now if we enquire whether Varus could have remained governor for the whole of this interval, from 6 B.C. to 6 A.D., the answer must be in the negative. For it was a standing rule with Augustus, according to the policy recommended by Mæcenas,⁹ that no one should hold a governorship less than three or more than five years: the object being to ensure the governor's complete acquaintance with the province, and yet to prevent his becoming so firmly settled in it as to attempt to become independent of the Emperor. There was, indeed, no law to this effect, but such being Augustus' principle, we can hardly suppose that one of the chief provinces, furnished with three legions, should have been left in the hands of one man for more than double the longest period allowed.

Were there then other governors of Syria during this interval; and

¹ There is an able summary of Zumpt's investigations in the *Christian Reformer*, Vol. xi. p. 623 ff. 1855, to which I must acknowledge my obligation.

² p. 84 sq.

³ Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 9. 1. Cf. ii. 3. and xvii. 2. 1.

⁴ *Ant.* xvii. 5. 2. Cf. *Bell. Jud.* i. 31. 5. ⁵ *Diss.* iii. § 7.

⁶ Vol. iii. p. 275.

⁷ Vell. Patere. ii. 120.

⁸ The true orthography of this name is matter of controversy. Zumpt follows Lipsius, and the editors of Tacitus, Beck, Ritter, and Döderlein, in writing Quirinius. This is the spelling adopted also by Winer, *R. W. B.* and Merivale. Quirinus, however, appears to be the more correct form, and, according to Ernesti (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 30) and Ryckius, is found on coins and in inscriptions. It is adopted by J. Gronovius and Orelli, the latter remarking, without, however, giving any examples, that the form *Κυρίνιος*, or *Κυρίνιος*, found in Strabo, Josephus, Dio, etc., arises from the Greek mode of writing in -ιος, Latin names in -us. Meyer, *in loc.*

⁹ Dio, lxx. 23.

if so, who were they? The name of one, L. Volusius Saturninus, has been discovered, who appears as "legatus Syriæ" on a coin of Antioch¹ of the year 35 of the Actiac Era = 4—5 B.C. He must, according to the above-quoted rule, have remained in office till the arrival of Quirinus, 6 A.D. His presidency however cannot, in accordance with the same policy, have filled up the whole of the eleven years; and consequently, one if not two governors have to be supplied between him and Varus.

Here then the passage of St. Luke² presents itself, and the enquiry arises, whether, in accordance with what appears to be the plain sense of his words, it is possible that Quirinus, who was certainly governor of Syria in 6 A.D., may also have filled that office as successor to Varus, about the time that the census recorded by the Evangelist was being held?

This is the question to the resolution of which Zumpt devotes himself, and the result of which he gives, p. 104, "jam . . . efficitur ut P. Sulpicius Quirinus, cum P. Quinctilius Varus paullo post mortem Regis Herodis exeunte anno, 4 A.D. decessisset Romam, in legationem Syriacam successerit."

What then do we know about Quirinus? The fullest details of his public services we possess are given by Tacitus,³ when narrating his death and public funeral 21 A.D. From this we learn that soon after his consulship (which he held from Jan. to Aug., 12 B.C.) he gained the honour of a triumph for reducing the fortresses of the Homonadenses, a tribe of Cilicia, "Impiger militiæ et acribus ministeriis consulatum sub. D. Aug., mox expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis insignia triumphii adeptus."

Of what province was he governor when he gained this success? To determine this we must ascertain the position of the Homonadenses. Both Pliny⁴ and Strabo⁵ agree in placing them in the mountain valleys of Cilicia near the Isaurians, and the latter mentions their reduction by Quirinus: 'Εκείνους δὲ Κυρίνιος ἐξεπόρθησέ λιμῶ καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐζώργησε καὶ συνώκισεν εἰς τὰς ἐγγὺς πόλεις, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀπέλιπε ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἁκμῇ.

Of what province then is it likely that Quirinus was governor at the time that he dislodged the Homonadenses? Zumpt names four, or at most five—Asia, Bithynia and Pontus, Galatia, and Cilicia—which can by any possibility have had any connection with this tribe, and by a very elaborate process of exhaustion eliminates all but the last.

(1) It cannot have been Asia, for we learn from Florus⁶ that Quirinus had been proconsul of Africa, probably in 6 B.C., and it was unheard of in the times of the Emperors for the same man to be appointed over more than one of the consular or prætorian provinces which were in the power of the senate. Besides, even if Quirinus had been proconsul of Asia, the Homonadenses were too remote for him to

¹ Eckhel, iii. 275.

² *Hist. Nat.* v. 23. 94.

³ *iv.* 12. 40.

⁴ Chap. ii. 1, 2.

⁵ *xii.* 6. 5, *xiv.* 4. 1. 24.

⁶ *Ann.* iii. 48.

⁷ *iv.* 12. 40. The older editions erroneously give Turmius for Quirinus, which, with slight variations of form, is the reading of all the MSS.

have made war upon them; while Asia, an old and tranquil province, had no legions quartered in it.¹

(2) Very much the same objections apply to Bithynia and Pontus. Galatia lay between this province and Cilicia; it was a senatorial province; and had no legions quartered in it. Besides, as we know from Dio,²—the exception of Pliny the younger only serving to prove the rule—the province was usually assigned to men of prætorian, not consular rank.

(3) More may be said in support of Galatia. But though the Homonadenses lay very near its frontier they were not within it, as Strabo proves, and a Roman prætor had no power to make war beyond the boundaries of his own province. Nor did the prætor of Galatia command any legion which would have enabled him to carry on a war worthy of a triumph; and lastly, it was a province always entrusted to men of prætorian rank.

(4) Having thus eliminated Asia, Bithynia and Pontus, and Galatia, Cilicia alone remains, which indeed is the first that would occur to us, the tribe in question being situated within it. Cilicia, however, at this time was far more contracted than when it had Cicero for its governor, when it reached as far as Caria and Phrygia. Part had been added to the province of Asia, part assigned to the government of Amyntas, king of Galatia, little being left besides "Cilicia Campestris," a tranquil region, though exposed to attacks from the neighbouring mountain tribes. On this account, when Augustus was handing over to the senate the more peaceful provinces in 27 B.C., he reserved this, together with Cyprus which had long been united to it, to himself, to be governed by a prætorian.³ But when Amyntas died, to whom, as we have seen, a large part of Cilicia had been given, Augustus having constituted the new province of Galatia, without, however, attaching any permanent army to it, felt that there were still some fierce mountain tribes remaining in Cilicia, which required a stronger hand than that of Archelaus of Cappadocia, to whom he had assigned the subjugation of "Cilicia Aspera." He therefore separated Cyprus from Cilicia, and gave that over, 22 B.C., to the senate as a perfectly tranquil province.⁴ What then became of Cilicia? Authorities are silent. It cannot be supposed that Dio intended to include it in his mention of Cyprus, for this was a prætorian province, and as Quirinus reduced the Homonadenses *after* his consulate, any province held by him—and Cilicia, as we have seen, is the only province left of which he could have been governor at this time—must have been a consular province, and therefore could not at this time have been merged in Cyprus. Cilicia, then, being divided from Cyprus, must have either been a province of itself, or have been united to some other. The former is most unlikely; for after the loss of Galatia, it was of very contracted dimensions, and, as we learn from Dio, without the protection of a legion. For which reason also, when the emperor assumed the province (and that he did assume it must be inferred from his separating it from Cyprus, when he gave that to the

¹ Tac. Ann. iv. 5.

² Dio, lxxi. 12.

³ Liv. 12.

⁴ Ib. liv. 4.

senate), he could not place it under a man of consular rank, and therefore not under Quirinus. We must therefore embrace the other alternative, that Cilicia was united to some other province. What then was this province? Now that it could not have been under the proconsul of Asia, is plain from what was said above about Quirinus' proconsulate of Africa. Strabo shews that it was not joined to Galatia, the boundaries of which he lays down carefully. Pontus and Bithynia were too far distant. What then remains but to conclude that it was united to Syria?

This reasoning makes it at least exceedingly probable that Cilicia was united to Syria at the period when Quirinus reduced the Homonadenses, and Zumpt now proceeds to confirm this by more direct historical testimonies.

The first of these is the fact, that Piso, when attempting to recover his province of Syria, of which he had been deprived by Germanicus by force of arms, sent Domitius Celer, one of his most intimate friends, to Laodicea in Syria, and himself applied by letter for aid to the chiefs of the mountain tribes of Taurus in Cilicia—"ipso regulis Cilicum ut auxiliis sese juvent scribit."¹ They accordingly sent him troops, which Piso, when he made his attempt, incorporated with his other forces. Now how could he have ventured to demand troops from Cilician chiefs, and what would have induced them to send him such aid, especially against Germanicus and his friends, whose power was then so very great, unless his position gave him authority to make such a demand? Now his position was that of governor of Syria. It must have been then in this capacity that the Cilician chiefs obeyed him, which goes far to prove that Cilicia was at that time united to Syria. But further—Piso's first step of open hostility against the party of Germanicus was to seize on a fortress named Celenderis.² Where then was Celenderis? Not in Syria, but, as Strabo informs us,³ in Cilicia Aspera. Now, if we enquire in what light this attempt was viewed by the Emperor and the authorities at Rome, we shall have an additional argument in favour of the supposed union of Syria and Cilicia. For among the charges brought against Piso by Tiberius to the senate was that of endeavouring to recover his province *by force of arms*. "*Armīs repetita provincia*."⁴ Nothing is said about his having attacked a province not belonging to him. That would have been an act of civil war, which Tiberius would never have thought of pardoning. His offence was clearly that, having been removed from his province by Germanicus, and others having been placed in it for the interim, instead of waiting and appealing to the Emperor, he had taken the law into his own hands, and endeavoured to settle the matter by arms. And therefore Tacitus reckons among other reasons why Piso perished, that the Emperor was implacable, "*ob bellum provinciæ illatum*."⁵ This appears also from the letter he wrote just before his death to Tiberius, interceding for his sons, one of whom, he says, was all the while in Rome, the other, probably one of his father's lieutenants, "*repetere Syriam*

¹ Tac. Ann. II. 78.

² Tac. Ann. III. 12.

³ Tac. Ann. II. 80.

⁴ Ann. III. 14.

⁵ XIV. 4. 3.

dehortatus est;"¹ while, as we have seen, his attempt to recover Syria consisted in seizing on a fort in Cilicia.

This conclusion as to the union of Syria and Cilicia may be strengthened by evidence drawn from a somewhat later period in the history of the Empire. We read in Tacitus² of a certain tribe called the Clitæ, who on two occasions, 30 A.D. and 53 A.D., from impatience at the tribute and taxes imposed upon them, withdrew to the mountain fastnesses of Taurus; where they maintained themselves for a time: on the second occasion extending their ravages to the sea, and the adjacent towns. Who then were these Clitæ? Tacitus himself informs us that they were a tribe in the western part of "Cilicia Aspera," near neighbours of the Homonadenses: and as we learn from the same authority that on each occasion troops were despatched by the governor of Syria (who in 30 A.D. was Vitellius) to quell the disturbances, we cannot doubt that Cilicia was under his jurisdiction, and was united to his province.

Zumpt having, as he believes, thus established the fact that Quirinus, at the time he reduced the Homonadenses, was "legatus Augusti," and governor of Syria, proceeds to enquire when he held this office. The passage of Tacitus, which serves as the groundwork of his whole argument,³ places it between his consulship, 12 B.C., and the death of Caius Cæsar, the adopted son of Augustus, 4 A.D. This at once forbids our thinking of his well-known governorship of Syria mentioned by Josephus and many others, which commenced in 6 A.D., and we have to enquire at what period, during the fifteen years which the words of Tacitus allow, it is possible that he may have held this office. Other governors, about whom there is no question, bring us down from 12 B.C. to 4 B.C., reducing the period of fifteen years to seven or eight. Have we any materials for determining the date more exactly? Zumpt thinks he discovers such in the connection mentioned by Tacitus between Quirinus and Caius Cæsar. Tacitus states that Quirinus was appointed adviser to that prince when directing operations in Armenia,⁴ whither he had been sent to settle the contests arising from a disputed succession. We must therefore enquire when he held this important commission.

We know from Suetonius⁵ that this office was at one time filled by Marcus Lollius, and we have to determine whether Quirinus preceded or succeeded him. Noris thinks the latter, but, as Zumpt believes, erroneously.

To decide this point he traces the circumstances of C. Cæsar's Asiatic journey very carefully. His arguments are too long to be fully reproduced here, but he believes that he has established the following points. C. Cæsar left Rome at the beginning of 1 B.C.,⁶ and crossing first to Greece, where he visited the most celebrated spots, passed next to Egypt, and then by the coast of Palestine to Samos, where he wintered, and where Tiberius, then living at Rhodes as a

¹ *Ann.* III. 16.

² *Ann.* VI. 41, XII. 55.

³ *Ann.* III. 48.

⁴ *Ann.* III. 48: "datusque rector Caio Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti."

⁵ *Tiber.* 12, 13: "criminationibus M. Lollii comitis et rectoris ejus."

⁶ Velleius, II. 101. Dio, LV. 11. Zonaras, x. 35.

kind of political exile, waited upon him. Suetonius, speaking of this visit, mentions Lollius as being then C. Cæsar's "rector," and that he endeavoured to produce an estrangement between them.¹ Here also Caius entered on his consulship for 1 A.D., and then proceeded to Asia and Syria. After various letters had passed between him and Phraates, king of the Parthians, and the chief obstacle to Roman influence in Armenia, Phraates towards the end of the year inclined to peace, and an interview took place between Caius and the son of the Parthian king at the beginning of the following year, 2 A.D.,² at which Caius, hearing of the treachery of Lollius, dismissed him from his household, and gave up all intercourse with him.³ Peace having been made with Phraates, Caius commenced hostilities against Tigranes, the Armenian pretender, was treacherously wounded in besieging Artagira, probably at the close of 3 A.D., and died 21 Feb. of the following year, at Limyra in Lycia, when on his return to Italy.

It would seem, therefore, that Lollius was "rector" to Caius Cæsar from the end of 1 B.C. or the beginning of 1 A.D., when he was wintering at Samos, to some time in 2 A.D., when he died by his own hand, soon after losing the favour of the prince. And if Noris' view that Quirinus succeeded Lollius as official adviser to Caius is correct, it will bring him down too late, and nullify the preceding argument. Noris⁴ builds his theory on the words of Tacitus, "Armenian obtinenti," Armenia not having been brought into the power of the Romans till 2 A.D. This, however, is based on a mistaken view of the phrase "provinciam obtinere," which does not necessarily denote to take possession of a conquered country, but to have it assigned to one as a province or a field of operations. And it was the settlement of the affairs of Armenia which had been committed to C. Cæsar on his leaving Rome. There are also two other objections to Noris' view. The first is found in the statement of Tacitus, "Tiberius quoque Rhodi agentem coluerat," which does not, as Noris supposes, imply that Quirinus had paid court to Tiberius at Rhodes before he gained his triumphal insignia and was made "rector" to Cæsar, for the pluperfect tense does not refer to these, but to his funeral. On the contrary, Zumpt thinks it evident that the triumphal honours were gained, his appointment as "rector" to Caius made, and court paid to Tiberius at or about the same time, when he was holding office in the East. Besides, when we remember that Tiberius had been residing for some years at Rhodes, and, as Zumpt appears to prove, left it 2 A.D., almost immediately after Lollius had ceased to be "rector" to Cæsar, we shall readily conclude that Noris is in error, and that Quirinus was the predecessor, not the successor, of Lollius in this office. But there is another argument against Noris' conclusion. Tacitus,⁵ when narrating the funeral of Quirinus, states that he was unpopular with the Roman people, "propter intentam Lepidæ periculâ," referring to the charges brought by him against her, previously related by him.⁶ Suetonius, when speaking of the same charge,⁷ uses these words—"dimissam eam e matrimonio post vigesimum annum veneni

¹ Sueton. *Tib.* 12.² Vell. ii. 101.³ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* x. 35.⁴ *Cenotaph. Pisan.* ii. 9.⁵ *Ann.* iii. 48.⁶ *Id.* 22.⁷ *Tib.* 49.

olim in se comparati arguebat." This took place at the close of 20 A.D. From this it follows that Lepida had married Quirinus twenty years before these proceedings, but this could not have been till after 2 A.D., in which year her betrothed husband, L. Cæsar, C. Cæsar's brother, died; at which time, therefore, Quirinus must have been in Rome, and not in Syria, as Noris supposes, as successor to Lollius. Zumpt's inference, therefore, is that Quirinus was the official adviser of C. Cæsar at the commencement of his mission to the East, 1 B.C., and held the office for about a year, until 1 A.D., when he was succeeded by Lollius. Lollius in his turn was followed by C. Marcius Censorinus, as we learn from Velleius,¹ "*sed quam hunc (Lollium) decessisse lætati homines, tam paulo post obiisse Censorinum in iisdem provinciis graviter tulit civitas.*" It is significant and confirmatory of Zumpt's view that the plural form "*iisdem provinciis*," not "*eâdem provinciâ*," is employed by Velleius.

Zumpt concludes this portion of his dissertation by investigating the position and duties of the person who filled this office of "*rector*." He shews them to have been of so much importance that an officer of ability and experience would naturally be chosen, and that as the affairs devolving on the young prince were such as would otherwise have been executed by the proconsul of Syria, he would be the most obvious person to select for so responsible a post. The case of Germanicus he shews to be one in point. Tiberius being anxious to diminish his nephew's growing popularity and bring about his death, when he sent him on a mission to Armenia and the East, very similar to that of C. Cæsar, removed the then governor of Syria, Creticus Silanus, who was a friend of Germanicus, and appointed Piso, whom he knew to be his enemy, for the purpose of obstructing and harassing him, though ostensibly to give him every aid in his power. In this case the word "*adjutor*," not "*rector*," is used; but the latter would have been quite out of place for Germanicus, an experienced and successful commander, though suitable enough for Caius, a raw youth of twenty.

We may therefore conclude, that since the natural requirements of the case would point out the governor of Syria for the time being as the official adviser of a young prince in the position of Caius or Germanicus, and these offices were really united in Piso, they would also be held conjointly by Quirinus. And as we know that he was "*rector*" of C. Cæsar at this time, we obtain a fresh confirmation of the view that he occupied the post of governor of Syria previous to his well-known governorship, 6 A.D., and at a time nearly corresponding to the birth of our Lord.

It may be well, before we dismiss the subject, to sum up briefly the chief results of Zumpt's investigation, of which we have already given the heads. For the arguments in full we must refer the reader to the original dissertation. The succession of governors of Syria, according to him, was as follows:—

(1) Sentius Saturninus, from 9 B.C. to 6 B.C.

(2) Quintilius Varus, from 6 B.C. till after the death of Herod, in April, 4 B.C.

¹ n. 132.

(3) Publius Sulpicius Quirinus, probably about the end of 4 B.C., remaining about three years. He reduced the Homonadenses of Cilicia, and in the last year of his government was "rector" to C. Cæsar, till the end of 1 B.C., when he returned to Rome.

(4) M. Lollius, who was also "rector" of Cæsar, probably from 1 B.C. to 2 A.D., when, having been dismissed by Caius for receiving bribes, and revealing state secrets, he, according to Pliny, poisoned himself.

(5) Caius Marcius Censorinus, who died probably in the next year, 3 A.D., or not later than the beginning of 4 A.D., certainly before the death of C. Cæsar, to whom he also was official adviser in the February of that year.

(6) L. Volusius Saturninus appears as governor, 4 A.D.

(7) P. Sulp. Quirinus (for the second time), appointed 6 A.D., immediately after the deposition of Archelaus, to convert Judea into a Roman province, and take a census of its inhabitants. We know nothing of the time that he quitted the province, but as his successor Creticus Silanus was in office 11 A.D., it is probable that he remained the full period of five years.

It will be remarked that Zumpt's conclusions do not altogether remove the difficulty, for he does not place the commencement of Quirinus' governorship till after the death of Herod, *i.e.* at earliest some months after the ἀπογραφὴ had summoned the parents of our Lord to Bethlehem. However, it reduces the difficulty so considerably, that, as Alford remarks, "Any slight error in calculation, or even the latitude allowed by the words *πρώτη ἐγένετο*, might well cover it." It is very confirmatory of the correctness of Zumpt's conclusion that so learned and conscientious an historian as Dean Merivale has accepted them, *Hist. of the Romans*, iv. 457. His view is that "the enumeration begun or appointed under Varus, and before the death of Herod, was completed after that event by Quirinius."

CHAPTER III.

SUCCESION OF EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR LORD'S CHILDHOOD.

THE portions of the Gospel narrative which contain the events which we have now to arrange in order, are Lu. i. 5—ii. 52. Cf. iii. 23—38. Matt. i. ii.

(1) No difficulty is involved in harmonizing Lu. i. 5—80, iii. 23—28, with Matt. i. And since we have already discussed the chronological data,¹ nothing now remains to be investigated but what is said about the dwelling-place of the parents of the Baptist. This is stated to have been πόλις Ἰούδα, which some have tried to identify with some definite place, *e.g.* Jerusalem, the capital of

¹ I must make one additional chronological remark on Luke i. 56. The ordinary view that Mary had returned to Nazareth before the birth of the Baptist appears at first sight the natural one; for this is not mentioned before v. 57, and it is nowhere stated that Mary was present. But if we compare the words ὥσει μῆνας τρεῖς with v. 26 it would appear that the Virgin staid with her cousin Elizabeth for more than three months, and left her immediately before her delivery. This appears to me so unlikely, that I prefer to imagine that, with the view of completing all he had to say about Mary's journey at once, the Evangelist spoke of her return, and its date in v. 56, although he had still something to tell that occurred before that return home. Indeed, in the immediately subsequent passage he does not adhere to strict chronological arrangement, for he continues his life of John from his birth to the commencement of his public ministry, and does not introduce the large interval that preceded the birth of Christ till the commencement of the second chapter. If, however, Mary was present at the delivery of Elizabeth, the dates ὥσει μῆνας τρεῖς, v. 56, and ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἑκτῷ, v. 26, lead to the inference that Mary's conception took place towards the end of the sixth month of Elizabeth's pregnancy. But inasmuch as this calculation cannot be regarded as at all certain, since Mary may have had many reasons, with which we are not acquainted, for leaving Elizabeth before her delivery, it throws no fresh light on the month of our Lord's birth. It agrees, however, exceedingly well with our previous results.

Judah, or Jutta, a sacerdotal city in the tribe of Judah,¹ since it is evident from i. 65 it must have belonged to Judea. The first idea needs no refutation. The second would be suitable enough, but appears only admissible if we consider 'Ιούδα as an error of the scribe for 'Ιούθα, which must have been of the highest antiquity, since it has passed into all the MSS.² But why should we suppose³ that Luke mentioned the name of the otherwise unknown dwelling-place of the parents of the Baptist, whose life it was not his object to narrate particularly? Its general position is determined with quite sufficient accuracy by the word ὁρεινή, which, in consequence of the appended clause εἰς πόλιν 'Ιουδά, we may understand more exactly as the ὁρεινὴ τῆς 'Ιουδαίας.⁴ If Luke had cared to give the name of their dwelling-place expressly, he would certainly have stated it when he made the first mention of the Baptist's parents, as the chief personages,⁵ and not merely in passing, and as a kind of after-thought. How thoroughly different is the Evangelist's way of proceeding with regard to Nazareth, the dwelling-place of our Lord's parents, i. 26, ii. 4. We believe then that nothing more certain can be determined as regards the dwelling-place of the parents of the Baptist, than that it was a sacerdotal city in the ὁρεινὴ τῆς 'Ιουδαίας. The specification of the sacerdotal city of Hebron⁶ can hardly be more than Rabbinical tradition.

(2) Greater difficulties seem to present themselves in the arrangement of the narrative of the birth of Jesus, and the circumstances immediately connected with it.⁷ But since we have seen that the main subjects of these two series of narratives, Luke's mention of the census under Herod, and Matthew's narrative of the visit of the Magi after the appearance of the Star of the Messiah, are facts harmonizing together chronologically, we may venture at the outset to assume that the same harmony also exists between the various narratives connected with

¹ Jos. xv. 55; xxi. 16. Cf. Reland, Paulus, Meyer, Raumer, etc.

² For יוּתָה, or יוּתָה, Jos. xv. 55, the LXX. have 'Ιούδα, Josephus, 'Ιερρά.

No single authority gives 'Ιούθα; naturally to avoid confusion.

³ Cf. De Wette *in loc.*

⁴ Cf. i. 65.

⁵ i. 5, or at least i. 23.

⁶ Beza, Wolf, Lightfoot.

⁷ Lu. ii. 1—39. Matt. ii.

them. We have then to enquire whether this assumption can be made good, and that in detail.

The beginning and end of the section under review at all events agree. For both the Evangelists begin with the mention of the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem,¹ and close with the return of His parents to Nazareth as a permanent residence.² Within these limits, however, the narrative of the two Evangelists embraces very different topics. But it is at once apparent, that the selection of these was determined by their inner connection, as well as by the special character of the Gospels in which they are found. In Matthew, the visit of the Magi and what they relate about the Star of the Messiah is the cause of Herod's suspicion, while this suspicion is the cause both of the murder of the children at Bethlehem, and of the flight of the parents of Jesus to Egypt; while, finally, the spirit of persecution awakened in the Herodian dynasty is the cause of the resolution taken by Joseph after their return, not to settle in Bethlehem, which was close to Jerusalem, but at Nazareth. Thus the events form a chain of cause and effect, the first link being the visit of the Magi to Jerusalem. Since Luke did not admit this into his narrative, he was obliged to pass over the other events also in silence. In regard, however, to the sojourn in Egypt in particular, our chronological investigation proves it to have been of very short duration; while from the early period in the life of Jesus at which it took place, it can have exercised no influence at all on His development,³ so that its independent claim to be mentioned was little or none. Luke, on the other hand, details the lowliness of the birth of Jesus, and how at the very same moment He was glorified by the angels' song of praise, as well as by the awe and astonishment of the shepherds; he narrates His Circumcision according to the

¹ Lu. ii. 1 sq. Matt. ii. 1. Cf. i. 25.

² Lu. ii. 39. Matt. ii. 23.

³ The "flight into Egypt" can have been little more than a journey there and back again. For the parents of Jesus set out shortly before the death of the aged Herod, who was already affected with a mortal sickness, and returned to Palestine as soon as they heard that Archelaus reigned over Judea in his father's room. Matt. ii. 22.

law, the Purification of Himself and Mary according to the law, and the prophetic words of blessing then uttered by Simeon and Anna. This is again a chain of narrative to which the narratives of Matthew do not belong, unless the train of thought had been altogether changed, or at any rate brought forward in a less definite form. Each of the Evangelists, however, has selected that which corresponded to the individuality of his Gospel. Matthew relates how the wise men of the East bring their homage to the new-born Child, with the view of provoking the Jews, who prided themselves on their knowledge of God, to imitate them. The Pauline Luke describes Him Who in His incarnation took on Him the form of a servant, and was yet a King; Whom shepherds, "the foolish things of the world," were the first to honour; Who submitted to the law, and was yet appointed to fulfil the law and the prophets. Matthew gives in detail the reason why it was that Jesus was not brought up in Bethlehem, the city of David. Luke merely tells us that Jesus, by His enrolment in the register of the Imperial Census, became, as soon as born, a citizen of the universal Roman empire, as it were to shew that He and His kingdom were not to belong to this or that nation, but to become a heritage for the whole world. Each in his narrative exhibits himself in his complete individuality, and yet neither excludes the credibility of the other. Is not this also the case as regards their chronology? And if so, what is the chronological thread that unites two such distinct narratives?

The narrative in Matthew evidently forms a chain of events chronologically inseparable. It must therefore be inserted somewhere in that of Luke. Now Luke's chronological arrangement is as follows:—(1) The birth of Jesus, ii. 1—20. (2) His Circumcision on the eighth day, ii. 21.¹ (3) The Purification of Mary forty days after the birth, ii. 22—38. Lev. xii. 2, 4. Numb. iii. 40. (4) The return of our Lord's parents to Nazareth, ii. 39. In this we see two points at which an insertion may be deemed possible, first, during the forty days before the Purification of Mary, and secondly, before His parents returned with

¹ Cf. Lev. xii. 3. Gen. xxi. 4.

the Child to Nazareth. Some, for instance Hug,¹ adopt the first view. But in opposition to this, we have not only the fact that, according to the requirements of the law, the mother had to remain the whole of the forty days at home, but also that in this interval it is scarcely possible for all that Matthew records—the journey of the Magi to Jerusalem, and their sojourn there, their journey to Bethlehem, the flight of the parents of Jesus into Egypt, and their return thence—to have occurred. Hug certainly assumes that Mary did not comply with the law of Purification until after her return from Egypt, since the Mosaic period of forty days must have been necessarily departed from in a case like this, when the mother and child were forced to quit the country before this period. But in Luke ii. 22² the period fixed in the law is expressly named as the date of the Purification. Besides, we cannot imagine that the parents of Jesus would have returned to Jerusalem after the Massacre of the Children at Bethlehem, since they would have had reason to apprehend the machinations of Archelaus. Hug, indeed, finds another way out of the difficulty by imagining that Mary's Presentation in the Temple may have taken place at the time that Archelaus, shortly after his father's death, took his journey to Rome to receive the confirmation of his power from Augustus. But Matthew expressly states, ii. 22, that through fear, Joseph did *not* go to Judea at that time, but turned aside to Nazareth in Galilee (ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν), while neither the grammar nor the context allows of Hug's interpretation, "He went there with trembling heart." If, then, the events in Matthew cannot be brought within Luke's forty days, it only remains for us to try to insert them before Joseph's return to Nazareth.³ And I know not why this should be impossible.

It is indeed objected that Luke in this place says nothing of Joseph having sojourned any longer in Bethlehem, but makes him, after having satisfied the require-

¹ *Gutachten über das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet von Dr. David Strauss*. ("Observations on Strauss' *Leben Jesu*.") Freiburg, *Zeitschr. f. Theol.* Vol. i. Part 2, p. 66.

² Cf. Lu. ii. 21.

³ Lu. ii. 39

ments of the law, return to Nazareth. But that Joseph did at that time return first to Bethlehem, as we should gather from Matt. ii. 1 sq., may with perfect certainty be inferred from Matthew's narrative, since, at a still later period,¹ he gives a special reason for Joseph's determination not to return to Bethlehem; which presupposes that he had at first determined on the contrary course, or would have done so had the original state of things remained unchanged. Luke, it is true, passes over Joseph's very brief sojourn at Bethlehem after Mary's Purification, and his sojourn in Egypt, which was also certainly very short, in perfect silence; this, however, is not at all the same thing as expressly denying these facts. To take the most unfavourable case. Suppose Luke was ignorant of these facts. This is certainly possible, since I do not believe that the knowledge of the facts of the life of Christ came to him in any supernatural way, but, as he himself asserts in the preface to his Gospel, from the written or oral communications of eye-witnesses, so that many facts, especially those of inferior importance, may have remained unknown to him. But, if this be so, what sober enquirer would conclude from it that Matthew's supplementary account was unauthentic, or, especially when he took into account the slight importance of these omissions for the spiritual development of Jesus, would infer that Luke was imperfectly acquainted with the facts generally? Of course a criticism like that employed by Strauss, Fritzsche, and others, which makes it a real misfortune for the historical enquirer if one of his authorities appears to be supplementary to the others, cannot lead him astray. On the other hand, it is perfectly conceivable that Luke was acquainted with the whole of the events narrated in Matthew, without choosing to tell of Joseph's return to Bethlehem and his flight to Egypt; partly, perhaps, because this did not suit the object of his narrative, and partly because it could not have been understood apart from that which precedes and follows it in Matthew, and partly also because it was by itself of too transient a character, and exercised too slight an influence on the internal development of the

¹ ii. 23.

infant Messiah, to give it necessarily any very high value in Luke's eyes, whose treatment of the history of the childhood is of a very summary character, giving a single verse for a period of nearly twelve years,¹ and again a single verse² for a period of about eighteen years. We therefore introduce the paragraphs in Matthew immediately after the Purification of Mary. (a) The visit of the Magi to Bethlehem.³ (b) Immediately after this the Flight into Egypt, and the Massacre of the Innocents.⁴ (c) The return, not to Bethlehem, but to Nazareth.⁵

We shall now proceed to give a more exact chronological investigation of the separate facts. If we consider that forty days had already passed before the Purification of Mary, and that then Matthew's paragraphs (a) and (b) come in, it follows that Jesus must have been born at least forty or forty-five days before the death of Herod, which took place at the beginning of April. The sanguinary order with regard to the children at Bethlehem would then take place in the last days of Herod's life,⁶ and is most readily explained from the physical and mental diseases under which he was then suffering. We should get a somewhat longer interval could we conclude from Matt. ii. 14, 19, that the parents of Jesus reached Egypt before Herod died.⁷ But the only thing necessarily implied by the tenor of the narrative (the object of which is incontestably to give the reason why they left Bethlehem towards the close of Herod's reign, and even after his death refused to return thither, Archelaus being on the throne) is that which is plainly expressed, that they journeyed from Bethlehem while Herod was still on the throne, and had already reached Egypt when they learnt his death. But even if they first heard of his death in

¹ Lu. ii. 40.² ii. 52.³ Matt. ii. 1—12.⁴ ii. 13—18.⁵ ii. 19—23. Cf. Lu. ii. 39.

⁶ In addition to his son's execution, we may instance the savage order issued by Herod, shortly before his death, to kill a number of each of the principal families on the day of his death, in order that in consequence of the general mourning, no one should have occasion for joy at his death. *Ant.* xvii. 6. 6.

⁷ A traveller can easily reach the Egyptian frontier at Rhinokolura, from Bethlehem, in 3 or 4 days, and our Lord's parents would in their flight have travelled as rapidly as possible.

Egypt the assumption is not thereby excluded that it took place before their arrival there; on the contrary, the one would only be probable if we assumed the other. But if we accept the opposite hypothesis, which certainly is more in accordance with the language used, we should be obliged to push the date of our Lord's birth further back to an earlier part of February, and in the extremest and least probable case even into January.

The fact of the Flight into Egypt however stands firm, authenticating the series of events in which it occurs, while it is authenticated by it. What place could have been more suitable for Joseph to take refuge in from Herod the Great, who was still sovereign of the whole of Palestine, than Egypt, where there were such large numbers who adopted the Jewish religion? Neander's remark is a just one, that even if in other instances we admitted the hypothesis that some of the Gospel facts may have had their origin in the expectations then prevailing regarding the Messiah, it is impossible to conceive that this can have been so here. For the words of the prophet Hosea,¹ which in their original sense apply to the people of Israel, but are interpreted² as typifying the sojourn of Jesus, the Messiah, in Egypt, could not have been interpreted as they are by the Evangelist, except under the hypothesis that the Flight into Egypt was an acknowledged fact which he desired to find prefigured in the Old Testament. There is, however, as little probability that this fact originated in Hosea's language as that the word נָצַח, Is. xi. 1, should have given rise to the belief that Jesus should be brought up in Nazareth.³ Gfrörer certainly starts the idea⁴ that the Messianic expectations of that age looked for a Messiah out of Egypt, because Moses, the prototype of the Messiah, came out of Egypt. However, he has neither proved that the same Messiah who came out of Bethlehem was also to come out of Egypt, nor is Jesus in Egypt, according to Matthew, the antitype of Moses, but of the whole nation of Israel.

(3) The only section giving any further account of

¹ Hos. xi. 1.

² Matt. ii. 15.

³ Matt. ii. 23.

⁴ Gfrörer, *Jahrh. des Heils*, Part II. p. 362.

the youth of our Lord is Luke ii. 41—52. The date of the single event which is here given, viz. our Lord's journey when a boy of twelve years old to Jerusalem at the Passover,¹ may be readily determined, since 12 added to 750 A.U.C., the year of our Lord's birth, gives the year 762 A.U.C. It was then the Passover of 762 that Jesus first attended, as a full-grown member of the theocratic community. The ethnarch Archelaus, against whose machinations His parents had previously guarded themselves, had been banished by the Romans 759 A.U.C.,² and Judea was at that time a Roman province.

¹ Lu. ii. 41—51.

² Cf. p. 55.

SECTION II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE PUBLIC MINISTRY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST AND OF CHRIST, TO THE BAPTIST'S IMPRISONMENT AND CHRIST'S RETURN FROM JERUSALEM TO GALILEE AFTER THE FEAST OF PURIM.

THE text of the period we propose now to treat of is found Lu. iii. 1—iv. 13. Mark i. 1—13. Matt. iii. 1—iv. 11. John i. 19—v. 47. *First*, we have to prove the general harmony of this portion of the Gospels; and then, *secondly*, to subject the two limits of this period, *i.e.* its beginning and end, to the strictest possible chronological investigation; and, *thirdly*, to arrange and fix in proper order of succession the events between these limits.

CHAPTER I.

THE GENERAL HARMONY OF THE TEXT.

THE harmony of the text in the Synoptical Gospels is self-evident, and is indeed universally acknowledged. It appears however a more difficult task to combine it with that of John. However, since in this section all the Evangelists commence their narrative of the Messianic ministry of Jesus, it merely remains to shew, in the next place, that they all bring the section to a close at about the same point in His life. Before we go any further, we may shew how this results from the following particulars.

(1) In the Synoptists the *terminus ad quem* is evidently the account of the imprisonment of the Baptist on which Jesus goes to Galilee.¹ Where then is the corresponding journey to Galilee to be found in John? Before the close of the passage under consideration, John mentions two occasions on which our Lord sojourned in Galilee.² But neither of these can be that intended by the Synoptists. Not the first, since the Baptist was even after that in full activity,³ and, as is expressly affirmed,⁴ "was not yet cast into prison." Nor was it the second, since at the beginning of this journey of Jesus to Galilee the Baptist was still exercising his ministry in perfect freedom.⁵ The journey to Galilee mentioned in John vi. 1, is therefore the earliest that can be intended, and it is that also which must be intended; for, on the one hand, John does not anywhere else in his Gospel speak of any residence of Christ in Galilee that at all corresponds in duration or importance to His ministry there as described by the Synoptists in this period; while on the other hand, during this residence in Galilee, we meet with several express parallels between John's narrative and that of the Synoptists.⁶

(2) The date of the Baptist's imprisonment, however, is not the only proof of the harmony of the text belonging to this period. The same is demonstrated by the unanimous statement of the Evangelists as to the locality in which our Lord was sojourning at its close. John, who treats of this section of our Lord's Messianic work the most fully, narrates that He went to Jerusalem to a feast of the Jews,⁷ and returned thence (consequently from Judea) to Galilee.⁸ The Synoptists also at the close of this section use language implying that our Lord had been recently absent from Galilee. Luke says, iv. 14, *ἵπείστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Γαλ.*: Mark i. 14, *ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Γαλ.*: Matt. iv. 12, *ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλ.* But from whence,

¹ Matt. iv. 12. Mark i. 14. Lu. iv. 14. Cf. iii. 20.

² Joh. ii. 1—12; iv. 45—54.

³ Joh. iii. 22—36.

⁴ Joh. iii. 24.

⁵ Joh. iv. 1—3.

⁶ Joh. vi. 1—15. Lu. ix. 10—17. Mar. vi. 30—44. Matt. xiv. 13—21. Joh. vi. 16—21. Mar. vi. 45—53. Matt. xiv. 22—34. Joh. vi. 66—70. Lu. ix. 18—20. Mar. viii. 27—29. Matt. xvi. 13—16.

⁷ Joh. v. 1.

⁸ Joh. vi. 1.

according to the Synoptical Gospels, did Jesus at that time go to Galilee? The passage in Matthew appears to answer this question. We have already seen¹ that ἀνέχ. εἰς τὴν Γαλ. cannot be read, "He returned," but "He withdrew into Galilee." Consequently, apart from all chronological objections, we cannot interpret ἀνεχώρησεν of the *return* of Jesus from the wilderness, whither He had gone "to be tempted of the devil,"² since He would have enjoyed far greater retirement in the wilderness than in the populous Galilee. But since it is equally impossible that ἀναχωρεῖν can be interpreted of a retirement from fear of the cruelty of Herod Antipas, who had already imprisoned the Baptist, because in this case He would certainly not have retired to Galilee, for that would have been to place Himself in Herod's power, it follows that Galilee must be spoken of here as a place where Jesus lived in retirement, in contradistinction to some other stage on which it would have become Him, as the Messiah, to have worked in public. This can, of itself, and especially in Matthew, be no other country but Judea. It follows therefore that the synoptical relation also presupposes that Jesus, at the close of this section, had not only not been sojourning in Galilee but in Judea.

(3) On this account therefore John i. 19—v. 47, must be inserted before Matt. iv. 12, and the parallels, because the lengthened Judean ministry of our Lord there related finds no place at any later period of the synoptical relation.

The three foregoing reasons, all leading to the same conclusion, may be sufficient to prove the harmony of the passages of the four Gospels under consideration in a preliminary way. The complete proof will be given hereafter, where I hope to demonstrate that the mode of treatment based on this hypothesis, with reference to the separate data of the Gospels, leads us to a consistent chronological system. We may further remark that the first and third of these data, in their most general bearing on the synoptical view of the four Gospels, are given with such direct proof that even Eusebius substantially acknowledges their validity, when in the important

¹ p. 37.

² Matt. iv. 1.

passage in which he treats of our canonical Gospels, he says:¹ τῶν ἀναγραφέντων τριῶν (the first three Gospels) εἰς πάντας ἤδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν (John) διαδομένον ἀποδέεσθαι μὲν φασὶν ἀληθείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα, μόνῃ δὲ ἄρα λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ καταρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπραγμένων διήγησιν. So far the tradition anterior to Eusebius and transmitted by him with regard to the Gospel of John and its relation to the other Evangelists, in which the synoptical relation of the Gospels to each other is on the whole stated with perfect correctness, and in a manner warranted by the facts, even if the hypothesis that the fourth Evangelist reviewed the works of the Synoptists with a special object, and filled up their gaps, by which that relation is explained, should prove erroneous. After giving the ecclesiastical tradition, Eusebius offers the following arguments in its support: Καὶ ἀληθὴς γε ὁ λόγος. Τοὺς ἄλλους γοῦν τρεῖς εὐαγγελιστὰς συνιδεῖν πάρεστι, μόνῃ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ κάθειρξιν ἐφ' ἓνα ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῇρι συγγεγραφότας αὐτό τε τοῦτ' ἐπισημηναμένους καταρχὰς τῆς αὐτῶν ἱστορίας. Μετὰ γοῦν τεσσαρεκονταήμερον νηστείαν καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ πειρασμὸν τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἰδίας γραφῆς ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος δηλοῖ λέγων "ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν." Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ὡσαύτως "Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι," φησὶν, "Ἰωάννην ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν." Καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς δὲ πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πράξεων παραπλησίως ἐπιτηρεῖ φάσκων "ὥς ἄρα προσθεὶς Ἡρώδης οἷς διεπράξατο πονηροῖς κατέκλεισε τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ." To justify this synoptical view, he immediately afterwards remarks that John intimates it μνημονεύσαντα τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ, μετὰ τῶν Ἰησοῦ πράξεων, ὥς ἐτι βαπτίζοντος ἐν Αἰνὼν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλήμ, and takes it for granted when he says οὕτω γὰρ ἦν Ἰωάννης βεβλημένος εἰς φυλακὴν. He says in conclusion, οἷς καὶ ἐπιστήσαντι οὐκ ἐτ' ἂν δόξαι διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ εὐαγγέλια, τῷ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Ἰωάννην τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πράξεων περιέχειν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῷ γεγενημένην ἱστορίαν. At the present time also, many exegetists have recognized the general correctness of this self-evident synoptical relation

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 24.

of the four Gospels. But it has not yet been sufficiently demonstrated in every particular, so that it is continually called in question. This probably arises partly from the fact that the fundamental notes of time have not been examined with sufficient care, and in their complete connection; and partly, that when a more precise chronology was attempted by them their conclusions were again hampered by the ordinarily received view that the journey of Jesus into Galilee, related John iv. 43, corresponds to that mentioned Matt. iv. 12, and the parallels. May that which follows be a contribution towards determining the true state of the case.

CHAPTER II.

A CHRONOLOGICAL DETERMINATION OF THE TWO LIMITING POINTS OF THE PERIOD.

BOTH the "terminus a quo" and the "terminus ad quem" of this period, as is intimated in the heading of the section, are doubly defined; by facts in the life of our Lord, and in that of the Baptist. We shall, however, endeavour first of all to fix the date of the former, in order that we may afterwards arrive at that of the latter. For it might certainly be expected, that in a biography of Jesus, to write which we know to have been the general object of the Evangelists, if attempted by them with any reference to chronology, their chief object would have been to determine the chronology of the facts of the life of the principal person.

THE "TERMINUS A QUO" OF THIS PERIOD.

§ 1. *The beginning of the Messianic Ministry of Jesus, or His Baptism by John.*

In order to arrive at a properly adjusted harmony, we must first of all examine the statements of the individual Evangelists.

The Evangelist John, after the passage i. 31—34, cf. i. 26, which assumes the Baptism of Jesus, records a Passover¹ kept by Jesus in Jerusalem. Now if the date of this could be fixed, we should have a *terminus ad quem* which, according to John, must at any rate have been preceded by His Baptism. Now this it is quite possible to do. For, in the first place, we possess in John ii. 20 a remark made at that time containing a date. Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος. The Temple referred to, as is clear from the οὗτος, was the so-called Herodian. Forty-six years had been already spent in its construction, as it then stood, while, according to Josephus,² it was not fully completed till a short time before the beginning of the Jewish war. If then we add 46 years to the date when Herod began to restore the so-called "second Temple," we shall get the year of the Passover in which these words were spoken by the Jews to Jesus. Now we know that the restoration of the Temple was commenced in the 18th year of Herod's reign,³ reckoned from the death of Antigonus (the third month of 717 A.U.C.), i.e. Nisan, 734, to Nisan, 735 A.U.C.; and it is exceedingly probable that the foundation-stone of the restored Temple was laid in the month Kisleu,

¹ Joh. ii. 13.

² Ant. xx. 9. 7.

³ Ant. xv. 11. 1. It is true that the present text of Josephus gives the 15th year, *De Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 1. This, however, if not a correction, is an error of the transcriber, such as occurs so frequently in other MSS., and especially in those of Josephus. I have adduced a large number of instances in my work *Zur Auslegung und Kritik u. s. w.* p. 139. [The 15th year was reckoned from his being declared king by the Romans, 714 A.U.C. Greswell, *Diss.* i. 188—223.—Tr.] This follows from the fact that the gift of the possessions of Zenodorus to Herod, which Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 10. 3, places at the close of the 17th year of his reign, i.e. at earliest on the 1st of Nisan, 734, and Dion, *Liv.* 7, also places in the same year, is stated by Josephus to have been connected with the preceding events, and was therefore, in consequence of the circumstances which led to it, or at least occurred at the same time, e.g. the rebellion of the Gadarenes, in which Zenodorus took part, one of the reasons which led Herod to determine on restoring the Temple. Cf. Anger, pp. 22, 23. Anger's idea that the addition of the forty-and-six years to the date of the commencement of the restoration of the Temple gives the year 782 A.U.C., can have been adopted simply on account of his foregone conclusion that our Lord's death is to be placed in 784 A.U.C.

734 A.U.C., and, very appropriately, on the Feast of the Dedication. Since then we learn from Josephus¹ that the external part of the Temple buildings was completed in eight years, and the internal portion, on which the priests alone worked, in one year and six months, making altogether nine years and six months when a Thanksgiving-day was held and that on the very same day on which Herod commenced his reign, *i.e.* in the third month, or Sivan,² it follows that, by reckoning six months back from Sivan, we get Kisleu as the month in which the re-edification of the Temple was begun. Now if this really took place in Kisleu, 734 A.U.C., or at any rate before the Passover, *i.e.* before the 15th of Nisan, 735 (for the 18th year of Herod's reign was completed before the first of Nisan, 735 A.U.C.), it follows that the Passover, mentioned by John, at which forty-six years had elapsed since the commencement of the building of the Temple, must have been that of 781 A.U.C. We reach the same date, in the second place, if we compare the epoch of this Passover with the last Passover recorded by John, which was that at which Jesus was crucified. Between these two—if with the greater part of the exegetists of the present day, we for the present agree in regarding the *ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, John v. 1, as not a passover at all—only one single Passover is recorded by John, *viz.* that mentioned John vi. 4. Consequently, if the Passover under consideration took place 781 A.U.C., the last Passover must be placed 783 A.U.C. And it is certainly a striking fact, that the first day of the Passover (15th Nisan) in that year, on which day our Lord was crucified, was a Friday, the day of the week on which, as will be shewn hereafter, the whole of the Evangelists agree in placing His Death. It is therefore so thoroughly established as an incontrovertible fact, that the Baptism of our Lord, according to the Evangelist John, is to be placed at latest before the 15th of Nisan = 30th of March, that if it should prove impossible to make the synoptical accounts harmonize with this date which stands so plainly in John, we should have at once openly to acknowledge that with regard to

¹ *Ant.* xv. 11. 5, 6.² *Cf.* p. 52.

this point there is a contradiction between John and the Synoptists:

However, this *terminus ad quem* of the Baptism of Jesus may be determined with greater precision, or perhaps even a *terminus a quo* discovered in John's Gospel, if we now endeavour fully to investigate the question whether in John i. 29—34, the Evangelist is speaking of the day of our Lord's Baptism, or not.

There is nothing at all to support this view in the context. But when we look to the synoptic Gospels, it appears surprising that the Baptist¹ is represented as using language *after* the Baptism of Jesus, similar to that which, according to the synoptical relation,² he used before it. On the other hand, a comparison of the synoptic narrative with that of John should guard us against this erroneous assumption, because the forty days during which, according to the Synoptists, Jesus was tempted immediately after His Baptism, cannot be brought into any chronological arrangement, unless we place them before the beginning of John's narrative of the life of Jesus, and consequently before John i. 19.³ But this apparent harmony begins to vanish if we consider that if a real parallel existed, the very precise note of time in John, *τῇ ἐπαύριον* ("the next day")⁴ would correspond to the general expressions, *τότε* in Matt. iii. 13, and *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις* in Mark i. 9, and disappears altogether if we bear in mind that John i. 27 (cf. the synoptical parallels) contains a declaration of the Baptist, in which he expresses his relation to the Messiah in a kind of formula. I mean that the one stereotyped predicate which he applies to the Messiah in His relation to himself, *ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος*, is no more than the correlative to the Old Testament idea of a forerunner, applied to the Baptist, both by himself and by Jesus, and was consequently sanctioned by the Old Testament;⁵ and that the

¹ Joh. i. 27.

² Matt. iii. 11, and the parallel passages.

³ Cf. Lücke on Joh. i. 29.

⁴ Joh. i. 29.

⁵ Is. xl. 3. Cf. Joh. i. 23, iii. 28; Matt. iii. 3; Mar. i. 3; Lu. iii. 4—6; also Malachi iii. 1. Cf. Lu. vii. 27; Matt. xi. 10; Mar. i. 2; Lu. i. 17, 76, compared with Malachi iv. 5, 6. We discover the stereotyped character of the formula by comparing Lu. iii. 16, Acts xiii. 25, Matt. iii. 11,

other stereotyped formula, in which he set forth his subordinate position to the Lord by employing the image of the shoe-latchet which the servant has to unloose, was certainly particularly well suited to express the fundamental idea of his submissive reverence towards the Mighty Coming One. And thus we find the Baptist uniformly (and that not merely in the Synoptists, but in John's Gospel, *e.g.* i. 26, 33) speaking of his baptism as a baptism in water, and that of the Messiah, on the contrary, as a baptism in the Holy Ghost, a description selected from its exact correspondence with the nature of the case. But if we confine ourselves to the context in the Gospel of John, who must certainly afford us the greatest help in interpreting his own words, we shall find nothing at all to favour the view that in John i. 29—34, the day of the Baptism of Jesus is intended, but rather the express contrary. For the Evangelist does not here tell us that Jesus had not been baptized before that day, but only what, according to his own testimony, the Baptist had gained for his personal knowledge of the Messiah from the Baptism of Jesus, and its attendant circumstances; a testimony which, naturally enough, he could have given at any subsequent period. Indeed, from the vividness of John's narrative, it is improbable that he should bring forward the Baptist stating what had happened on the day of the Baptism of Jesus, without himself adding that the words of the Baptist were spoken on the selfsame day. Besides, the Baptist expressly mentions¹ that the personal acquaintance with our Lord's call to the Messiahship which he had thus obtained, was a consequence of an extraordinary manifestation granted him at the time of the Baptism. And yet he had, on the previous day, declared his acquaintance with the Messiah, Who had actually appeared, in the words "there standeth One in the midst of you Whom ye know not." Conse-

Mar. iii. 7; but especially from John himself, who tells us that the Baptist used the same expression in essentially the same form on three different occasions, first to his disciples, Joh. i. 30, *cf.* verse 15, then before the members of the Sanhedrim, Joh. i. 27, 28, and lastly, not long before his imprisonment, Joh. iii. 28—30.

¹ Joh. i. 31, 33.

quently the Baptism of Jesus must, according to John, have taken place previously to that day, *i.e.* previously to the events narrated,¹ i. 19.

Now, if we take into account that, in accordance with the national custom, our Lord must have arrived in Jerusalem some little time before the Passover of the year 781 A.U.C. (in which year the 15th of Nisan corresponded with the 30th of March), and at least five days before it,²—that previously to this must be placed His journey to the Holy City, and His sojourn at Capernaum, where with His mother, His brethren, and His disciples He tarried *οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας*,³ an expression which, though decidedly indefinite,⁴ may easily include a month or more—still further, that if, in accordance with the prevailing Jewish custom,⁵ we reckon the duration of the marriage at Cana at seven days, about a fortnight elapsed from the events related, John i. 19,—and lastly, to mention this at the same time, that even if our Lord had set out for Bethany in Peræa,⁶ immediately after His temptation in the wilderness, yet at any rate His journey thither, and the forty days of His temptation, would have to be added to the above sum,—we shall arrive at a *terminus ad quem* for the Baptism of our Lord, certainly of a somewhat vague character, and yet such as to warrant us in placing it in the year 780 A.U.C., and in regarding its date, viewed thus generally, as fixed and determined. John's narrative, on the other hand, does not furnish grounds for arriving at

¹ See Bernhard Jacobi, *über die Data zur Chronologie des Lebens Jesu in dem Evangelium des Johannes*. Stud. u. Krit. 1838, Part 4, pp. 850–852.

² Exod. xii. 3.

³ Joh. ii. 12.

⁴ The expression *μετὰ τοῦτο* also appears to suppose no longer interval than the journey from Cana to Capernaum. For since His mother and brethren accompanied Him, and remained there, Capernaum seems to have been our Lord's residence instead of the earlier Nazareth. In addition to other reasons that may have inclined Him to the choice, our Lord may *perhaps* have been determined by the circumstance that נַחֲמוֹם בְּפָרָה = "the village of Nahum" (the prophet) denotes etymologically "the village of the Comforter" (נַחֲמוֹם a form like נַחֲמֵם), and that Jesus was in fact the true נַחֲמֵם. Our Lord did not despise such symbolical actions, if they presented themselves to Him naturally.

⁵ Jud. xiv. 12, 15; Tob. xi. 20.

⁶ Joh. i. 28, "Bethabara beyond Jordan," in the Textus Receptus

any more certain *terminus a quo* of our Lord's Baptism, since, as we have seen, this is at its very outset presupposed as having already taken place. Only it may be conjectured, with the greatest probability, that it cannot have taken place several years previously, since otherwise many events worthy of notice must have certainly already occurred in the life of Christ, which John could not have passed over without notice, even within the limits of the biography he had in view. But if this narrative begins intentionally with the day on which the Baptist, after the Baptism of the Messiah had already taken place, delivered his first official testimony regarding himself and his relations to the Messiah before the Jews,¹ and particularly before their highest theocratic court, the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem (a date of the highest importance, because immediately subsequent to it the band of disciples from which the Apostles were afterwards formed began to gather about the Lord²)—it follows that the Synoptists have described independently, not merely the preparatory Ministry of His Forerunner, but also the Baptism of Jesus by his hands. Consequently it is in the Synoptists, if anywhere, that we must look for a more exact determination of the *terminus a quo* of the Baptism.

Of the Synoptists, Matthew and Mark, in the sections relating to this period,³ have, it is true, furnished us with the events in their true order of succession, but, as is customary with them, without any distinct chronological marks such as we are seeking for. With regard to the first appearance of the Baptist, it is stated by Matthew, iii. 1, that it took place *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*, that is, as appears from ii. 23, in the time that Jesus was still dwelling at Nazareth. Mark says no more, i. 1—8, than that his public appearance had begun, or prepared the way for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in accordance with the prophecies of the Old Testament. In the same way, the Baptism of our Lord is introduced by them, merely with the general formulæ *τότε*,⁴ and *ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις*.⁵

¹ Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, i. 19.

² Joh. i. 35 sq.

³ Matt. iii. 1—iv. 11. Mar. i. 1—13.

⁴ Matt. iii. 13

⁵ Mar. i. 9.

On the other hand, we may at the outset look for greater chronological precision in the parallel sections of Luke, who generally pays more attention to chronology.¹ And such is the fact. Luke says expressly, iii. 23, that our Lord at the time of His Baptism was about 30 years old, *i.e.* as we pointed out above, thirty and a little more, but not yet thirty-one. Now if we combine with this the conclusion arrived at in our consideration of John's Gospel, *viz.* that Jesus was baptized at all events before the commencement of the year 781, and therefore, at latest, at the close of the preceding year, 780, it follows that, inasmuch as our Lord was born in February, 750 A.U.C., we have at once the most complete harmony between John and Luke, in their determination of the date of the Baptism of Christ, which, according to their statements, is placed in the year 780 A.U.C., or more precisely, between February and the end of that year.

There is, however, another, and certainly a very precise chronological statement in Lu. iii. 1, 2, which we must now proceed to examine more narrowly, especially since at first sight it appears to disturb this apparent harmony.

We read in Luke iii. 1, 2, *Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τετραρχούντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας, καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς τετραρχούντος, ἐπ' ἀρχιερέων Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, ἐγένετο ῥῆμα Θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννῃν τὸν τοῦ Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.* We will first determine with greater precision the dates given here, which mutually regulate one another, and then enquire what is the fact that Luke desires to indicate by their means.

(1) *Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος.* Augustus died on the 19th of August, 767:² therefore, since the reign of Tiberius commences from that date, "the 15th year of the Emperor Tiberius" reaches from the 19th of August, 781, to the same date in

¹ Lu. iii. 1—iv. 13.

² Sueton. Oct. 100.

782. This conclusion¹ has been however evaded in two ways, either by the assumption that Luke is not reckoning by the years of the *sole*, but of the *joint* sovereignty of Tiberius, or, that he calculated the sole sovereignty of the Roman Emperor not according to the Roman custom, from the day of his predecessor's death, but (at the very best a Jewish method) from some other month of the year in which he ascended the throne. To support the first assumption, the fact is appealed to, that Tiberius had already been associated in the supreme power through a decree of the Senate, prompted by Augustus, more than two years previously, *i.e.* either in the end of the year 764, or, which is more probable, the January of 765,² so that the 15th year of Tiberius would nearly correspond with the year 780. Now it is true that this view would on the whole tally well enough with the public appearance of the Baptist, according to our calculation, and yet I look upon it as quite inadmissible, since no ancient writer, not even Josephus,³ has adopted this mode of calculation. Now if we adopt the second hypothesis, that Luke calculated the years of Tiberius' reign in the way that the Jews did the regnal years of their own princes,⁴ the first year of Tiberius would have closed before the 1st of Nisan, 768,

¹ Würm, *Astronomisch. Beiträg.* Bengel's Archiv, Vol. II. Part I. p. 5. [In his more recent *Beiträge* (Gotha, 1869), Dr. Wieseler corrects his former conclusion as given in the text, and accepts the commencement of the joint sovereignty of Tiberius as the *terminus a quo* of St. Luke's reckoning. His arguments, pp. 177 sq., are as follows:—(1) The break between republican and imperial institutions was smoothed over as much as possible: accordingly, the emperors counted the number of times they had held the consular or tribunician powers rather than the years of their reign in the strict sense. (2) This general proposition is proved from coins, etc. (3) He produces direct evidence from coins of the particular proposition that the reign of Tiberius was thus reckoned. Wieseler also in his article "Zeitrechnung," Herzog. *Real Encyclopädie*, vol. xxi p. 547, also refers to coins of Alexandria dating from the adoption of Tiberius A.U.C. 757, and mentions that Clement of Alexandria assigns a longer space by about four years to the reign of Tiberius than if its commencement had been dated from his sole rule. *Stromata*. I. p. 147, ed. Potter.—Tr.]

² Vell. Pat. II. 21. Tacit. *Annal.* I. 2. Sueton. *Tib.* 20, 21. See Eckhel, *Doctrin Numm.* VI. 186. [Cf. Greswell, *Diss.* I. 271—280.—Tr.]

³ *Ant.* XVIII. 4. 6.

⁴ Cf. p. 53.

and his 15th year would therefore answer to the period from the 1st of Nisan, 781, to the same date in 782, and would consequently differ from the 15th year, according to the Roman calculation, by about six months. The Jews, however, only calculated the regnal years of the *Jewish* princes from the 1st of Nisan. This is made perfectly clear for the epoch of our Lord from the words of the Jewish historian Josephus, who adopts the national mode of calculation in reference to the native rulers, but calculates the years of the Roman emperors entirely in the Roman method. But if the regnal years of the Roman emperors were reckoned in the customary mode even by the Jew, Josephus, *à fortiori* would this have been done by Luke, himself a Gentile Christian,¹ and writing for Gentile Christians. How striking a proof is this of the perplexities in which these writers must have found themselves involved under their view of the chronology of our Lord's life, that they should have resorted to a shift of this kind in a matter so clear and obvious.

We must go on to enquire whether the other notes of time agree with this fundamental date, the 15th of the reign of Tiberius.

(2) Ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Pontius Pilate, the well-known Roman governor under whom our Lord suffered and died,² was recalled from his post by Tiberius before the Passover of 789, after he had occupied it ten years,³ *i.e.* from the end of 778 or the beginning of 779 to 789⁴ A.U.C.

(3) Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας. Philip became tetrarch after the death of Herod the Great⁵ (Nisan 750), and died⁶ in the 23rd year of Tiberius, in the 37th year of his reign, *i.e.* according to the Jewish mode of dating, before the 1st of Nisan, 787, and according to the Roman, subsequently to the 19th of August, 786 A.U.C.

(4) Καὶ τετραρχούντος τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδου. Herod

¹ Col. iv. 14. Cf. iv. 10, 11.

² Matt. xxvii. Mar. xv. Lu. xxiii. Joh. xviii. xix. Acts iii. 13, iv. 27, xiii. 28. 1 Tim. vi. 13.

³ Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4. 2.

⁴ Cf. Winer, *R.W.B.* "Pilatus." [Greswell, *u. s.*, 289—292.]

⁵ Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1.

⁶ *Ib.* xviii. 4. 6.

Antipas is here meant, the governor of our Lord's province,¹ who, at the instigation of Herodias, who had previously been his brother Philip's wife (not the tetrarch Philip mentioned above), ordered the Baptist's execution.² He obtained his tetrarchy after the death of his father Herod,³ and was deposed in the autumn of 792.⁴ His reign, with that of the tetrarch Philip, lasted during the whole of our Lord's public ministry. Thus far then Luke's statements are in perfect harmony with one another and with history.

(5) Καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς τετραρχούντος. Now inasmuch as Luke stands alone in his mention of the existence of a tetrarch of Abilene named Lysanias, in the 15th year of Tiberius, hostile critics have at once assumed that he has been guilty of a chronological blunder, while they ought rather to have rejoiced to recognize an addition to the scanty and incidental notices of the dynasty of Lysanias that have come down to us. They hold that the Lysanias here meant, must be that Lysanias who, according to Josephus,⁵ was put to death at the instigation of Cleopatra, 718 A.U.C., and whose possessions were at that time in part bestowed on her. With this Lysanias the dynasty, henceforward deprived of its possessions, must have ceased to exist. But this Lysanias died more than sixty years before the time that the Lysanias mentioned in Luke must have reigned. Besides, Josephus nowhere calls him sovereign of Abilene, although this appears to have been a portion of his kingdom. Nor, again, is he ever called "Tetrarch," though even in Josephus, as we shall soon see, we do find a tetrarchy of Lysanias. The identity of this Lysanias with the Lysanias in Luke, in the midst of these decided differences, depends on the bare fact that a Lysanias, undoubtedly our Lysanias' ancestor, must at an earlier period have reigned in nearly the same district. Is there anything very astonishing in such a similarity of names? Or does not the history of almost every dynasty furnish us with multitudes of analogous examples? And

¹ Lu. xxiii. 7.

² Matt. xiv. 4, parall.

³ Nisan, 750.

⁴ Cf. p. 55.

⁵ Ant. xv. 4. 1. Dio Cass. XLIX. 32.

what an amount of carelessness must we impute to Luke, if in a passage, the chronology of which was already so precisely determined, and therefore without any necessity, he has introduced this date derived from the reign of Lysanias, although he neither knew nor was able to learn the date when Lysanias really reigned. In the most favourable case, censure is passed on one who was a close contemporary of the period, and that without reflecting on the incidental and concise character of the notices of the history of Lysanias at our command.

Even then, if all other sources of information as regards this Lysanias were silent, still, from the reasons adduced, Luke would be entitled to credit for correctness. "However," it is objected, "we can prove from Josephus the positive truth of the assertion, that at the time of our Lord's public teaching no younger Lysanias can possibly have reigned over Abilene." This proof is given in the fullest manner by Paulus.¹ He endeavours to shew that the tetrarch Philip had at that time obtained possession of the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and that the text of the Evangelist fully accords with this view. In support of the latter part of his assertion, in both editions of his *Commentary* he proposes either, with Cod. L., to strike out 'Αβιληνῆς after τετραρχοῦντος, or to read καὶ τῆς Λυσανίου 'Αβιληνῆς τετραρχοῦντος;² a reading which would oblige us to make τετραρχοῦντος agree with Φιλίππου alone. At the same time, as he is brought into straits by the weight of the MSS., he gives it as his opinion that the words, even in their received order, Λυσανίου τῆς 'Αβιληνῆς τετραρχοῦντος may have the same sense which he had previously endeavoured to obtain by his conjectural reading. Paulus therefore, in his mode of dealing with this passage, must not be identified with those who dispute Luke's historical knowledge; still, the way in which he has sought to vindicate it must, when taken in connection with the development of modern exegesis, contribute to throw suspicion upon it. His conjecture, on a confessedly ob-

¹ *Commentar. u. Exeg. Hndbch.* Lu. iii. 1.

² As Josephus has in fact mentioned the town 'Αβίλα with the epithet ἡ Λυσανίου, in the same way Luke is supposed to speak of the district as 'Αβιλήνη Λυσανίου.

scure part of profane history,¹ cautious as it is, as far as its philological element goes, may be shewn to be inadmissible when we examine the two grounds on which it rests. As regards the one point, it is true that the interpretation of Paulus has been anticipated by the Latin MSS.,² which read "Lysaniæ (genitive) . . . tetrarcha," or "Lysaniæ . . . tetrarchæ." These, however, are only erroneous translations, which on their part at all events take for granted as the original text that furnished by all the Greek MSS., with the exception of L. Such being the state of the MSS., the radical correction τῆς Λυσανίου Ἀβιληνῆς, though grammatically and syntactically admissible, can only be accepted in case of absolute necessity. With regard to the second point, Paulus has given us no proof that after the death of Herod the Great, in addition to other provinces, Philip also received the tetrarchy of Lysanias. This, however, is just the point the truth of which "negative criticism"³ is wont at once to take for granted in support of its views. Josephus, in various passages of his writings, has given us with great particularity the names of the several districts which fell to Philip's share: but among these the province or tetrarchy of Lysanias is nowhere mentioned. On the contrary, in both the principal passages in which we read of the

¹ It can only be maintained on philological grounds, by adopting Rinck's modification (*Angefochtenen Erzählungen in dem Leben Jesu*, p. 18), who employs both the amendments proposed by Paulus at once, reading καὶ τῆς Λυσανίου Ἀβιληνῆς. See Schneckenburger, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1833, No. 4, p. 1056.

² See Lachmann, *Ed. Maj.*

³ Among the negative critics on this as well as on other passages, we must also reckon De Wette in his popular *Exeget. Handbuch z. N. T.* Partly to meet the many calumnies of late directed against this meritorious writer, partly to avoid being misunderstood myself, I here state, once for all, that it does not seem to me right to class this author with the mass of modern critics and exegetists. However frequently I may be obliged to dissent from his conclusions, I cannot but pay the highest honour to his solid learning, and his indefatigable spirit of investigation. It is very different with the labours of the so-called modern school of criticism. For example, Hug has admirably shewn, in his oft-quoted *Gutachten*, what is the state of the case as regards the independence and thoroughness of the historical and exegetical investigations even of a Strauss.

ratification of the testamentary dispositions of Herod the Great by Augustus,¹ we find uniformly that Philip received Trachonitis, Batanæa, Auranitis,² *σύν τινι μέρει οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου λεγομένου*,³ or *καὶ μέρη τινὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἴκου τὰ περὶ Ἰαμνίαν*.⁴ Such being the case, how does Paulus establish his view? He assumes that by *οἶκος*, the former estate of Zeno or Zenodorus, the tetrarchy of Lysanias is intended. But to say nothing of the protest of the Evangelist against such a view, even Josephus contradicts it. (1) In the first place, he certainly tells us that Zenodorus possessed *τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λυσανίου*, not as owner, but as tenant.⁵ On the other hand, he merely states that the possessions of Zenodorus were, after his death, bestowed by Augustus on Herod the Great, and it is a portion of these which is evidently intended by Josephus.⁶ (2) In the second place, the tetrarchy of Lysanias is expressly distinguished from that of Philip;⁷ and that this never came into the hands of Herod the Great is at all events distinctly asserted by him.⁸ (3) And finally, if Josephus, when speaking of the portion of the *οἶκος* of Zenodorus,⁹ had intended the tetrarchy of Lysanias, he would probably have spoken of it by that name, especially if, as is taken for granted, it was one of such currency that our historian, writing more than fifty years afterwards, could employ it without leading any

¹ *Ant.* xvii. 11. 4; *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 63.

² Instead of Auranitis, Josephus has Gaulonitis, *Ant.* xviii. 4. 6. Cf. xvii. 8. 1.

³ *Ant.* l. c.

⁴ *De Bell. Jud.* l. c.

⁵ *Ant.* xv. 10. 1: *Ζηνόδορος τις ἐμεμίσθωτο τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λυσανίου. De Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 4: *Ζηνόδορος δὲ τὸν Λυσανίου μεμισθωμένους οἶκον.*

⁶ Josephus writes concerning the possessions of Zenodorus given by Augustus to Herod the Great, *Ant.* xv. 10. 3: *Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦτον μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσι, ἥ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τράχωνος καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἦν, Οὐλλάθαν καὶ Πανιδδα καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν.* Nothing is said of Abilene, but Panias belonged to that district, and indeed this same Panias really takes the place of *μέρη τινὰ οἴκου τοῦ Ζηνοδώρου*, *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1.

⁷ *Ant.* xviii. 6. 10: *Καὶ βασιλέα καθίστησιν αὐτὸν (Agrippa I.) τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας δωρησάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου τετραρχίαν.*

⁸ *Ant.* xix. 5. 1; *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 11. 5.

⁹ *Ant.* xvii. 11. 4.

of his readers to think of any other Lysanias than the one of bygone days.

If, then, it is demonstrated that there is no reason to discredit the fact of a younger Lysanias having reigned over Abilene at the time of our Lord's public ministry, on the ground that a foreign prince was at that time ruling there, it follows that there is in reality no objective ground for questioning the statement of the almost contemporary Evangelist. For even if it could be proved more satisfactorily than appears possible or has hitherto been done, that the territory of the elder Lysanias was annexed to the Roman province of Syria immediately on his death or shortly afterwards, yet no one who has even a slight acquaintance with what Josephus and other authors have stated of the manner in which the Roman emperors dealt with the separate provinces of S.W. Asia, would be disposed to conclude, in face of a direct testimony to the contrary, that Abilene might not, at a later period, have been granted, either whole or in part, to a descendant of the former Lysanias. We need not, however, content ourselves with appealing to such universally known facts; we may, I think, in another way give a positive proof of the credibility of our Evangelist.¹ We have already adduced the passages from Josephus and Dio Cassius in proof of the fact that a Lysanias, who reigned in the province of Abilene,² lost his life, 718 A.U.C., through the intrigues of the ambitious Cleopatra. Josephus tells nothing of the title he bore, but Dio³ expressly informs

See Hug, in the *Gutachten* already so often referred to; also Winer, *R. W. B. s. v.* "Abilene," Tholuck, Kuhn, Krabbe, in their various "Lives of Jesus;" and Süsskind, *Stud. und Krit.* 1836, Part II. p. 445, in a separate article on this passage. The view that there were two Lysanias may be said to be that generally received. This view was supported by Eusebius, *H. E.* I. 10.

² He was a son of Ptolemy, the son of Mennæus, *Ant.* XIII. 16. 3, XIV. 12. 1, a prince in the neighbourhood of Damascus, *Ant.* XIX. 3. 2, and potentate of Chalcis on Lebanon. *Ib.* 7. 4.

³ Dio, in speaking of the relations of Antony and Cleopatra, uses language applicable here: καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς τε Μάλλχου (Arabia Nabatææ) καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (τὸν γὰρ Λυσανίαν, ὃν αὐτὸς βασιλεῖα σφῶν ἐπεποιήκει, ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς τὰ τοῦ Πακόρου πράξαντα) πολλὰ δὲ τῆς Φοινίκης τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης Κρήτης τέ τινα καὶ Κυρήνην τὴν τε Κύπρον αὐτοῖς (his children by Cleopatra) ἐχαρίσατο.

us, that towards the end of his life he was not *tetrarch*, but *king* (βασιλεύς) of Ituræa, a dignity to which he had been raised by Antony, probably at a time when some addition was made to his dominions. However, Antony did not present Cleopatra with the whole of the possessions of Lysanias, but only with a large portion of them, as we see from Dio, πολλὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς τῶν Ἰτυραίων. Josephus too agrees with him, provided (which the context seems almost to require) we are to understand by τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων,¹ the province of the Arabian princes Malchus and Lysanias. We may infer, therefore, that the remainder, which was not given to Cleopatra, would have continued in the possession of the heirs of Lysanias. In fact, Josephus, if we are right in interpreting τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων as the province of Lysanias, speaks of some one reigning (βασιλεύων) over it, immediately after his death.² But there is as little ground for concluding that because a portion of the province of Lysanias was given to Cleopatra his dynasty had become entirely extinct, as there is for the inference that because Herod was obliged at the same time to resign a portion of his dominions, his dynasty also came to an end. We do not, therefore, require the otherwise not improbable hypothesis of Hug, that Augustus, after having become master of the East by the defeat of Antony, might have restored to the heirs of Lysanias³ the province which had been unjustly wrested from them by Augustus, either entirely or in part, and which after Cleopatra's death had been without

¹ The passage runs: Λυσανίαν μὲν οὖν τὸν Πτολεμαίου Πάρθους αἰτίας αμείνῃ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπάγειν ἀποκτίνουσιν· ἤτει δὲ παρ' Ἀντωνίου τῆς τε Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων (Dio also speaks of Lysanias' province as extending to Arabia) ἀξιούσα τοὺς βασιλεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖσθαι. Josephus immediately afterwards says that, for the sake of his reputation, Antony did not acquiesce in all Cleopatra's requests, ἵν' οὖν μήτ' ἀρνήθῃ παντάπασιν μήτ' ὅσα προσέταττεν ἐκείνη διαπραξάμενος ἐκ φανεροῦ δόξῃ κακὸς, μέρη τῆς χώρας ἐκατέρου παρελόμενος τοῦτοις αὐτὴν ἐδώρησατο. The full import of these passages has not hitherto been noticed.

² Joseph. l. c. See preceding Note.

³ It is expressly stated (*Ant.* xv. 7. 3; *de Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 3) that the districts which had been taken away from Herod were restored to him by Augustus immediately after the battle of Actium.

a ruler. We are told by Josephus,¹ that Cleopatra farmed out to Herod the districts of Arabia bestowed on her by Augustus, and he appears to have retained them as tenant up to her death.

About this time we find mention of a certain Zenodorus as farming the οἶκος of Lysanias.² It is therefore probable that the heirs of the elder Lysanias were still under age, and that their possessions were in the hands of guardians. This Zenodorus, who, according to Dio Cassius³ and several coins,⁴ was a tetrarch, and whose connection with Auranitis is described as that of an eparch, in the first year of the Actian era (μετὰ τὴν πρώτην Ἀκτιάδα), in consequence of a charge which had been brought against him of favouring the banditti of Trachonitis, was deprived of Trachonitis, Batanæa, and Auranitis,⁵ provinces which were bestowed by Augustus on Herod the Great. Whether at the same time he lost his position as farmer of the οἶκος of Lysanias, we are not informed. When, at last, after many fruitless plots against Herod, Zenodorus died,⁶ the whole of his inheritance was bestowed on Herod. Some considerable time after this, however, the dominions of Lysanias are mentioned by Josephus under the name of a tetrarchy, as in the Gospel of Luke, and from this time forwards, whenever they are mentioned by him, they always bear this name. The tetrarchy of Lysanias is mentioned for the first time 790 A.U.C.,⁷ the year in which Caius Caligula ascended the throne, at which time it was

¹ *Ant.* xv. 4. 2. ² *Ant.* xv. 10. 1; *de Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 4. ³ *LIV.* 9.

⁴ Mionnet (*Description des Médailles Antiques*, Tom. v. p. 576) mentions four coins of his belonging to the period 280—287, of the era of the Seleucidæ = 33—26 B.C. He states, however, that the date 280 is defective on one of the coins. As this bears the head of Octavianus, who did not become master of the East until the battle of Actium, 282, the date must be stated incorrectly. On the other hand, we have a coin with the date 282. It is possible that Augustus at that time assigned to Zenodorus some provinces that had become vacant by Cleopatra's death. The expression ἐπαρχία in Josephus perhaps indicates this.

⁵ *De Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 4. Cf. *Ant.* xv. 10. 1.

⁶ His death is placed by Josephus, *de Bell. Jud.* i. 20. 4, about ten years later; but according to *Ant.* xv. 10. 3, in the 17th year of Herod, i.e. 734 A.U.C. Dio agrees with this, *LIV.* 9.

⁷ *Ant.* xviii. 6. 10.

bestowed by him on the elder Agrippa, together with the former tetrarchy of Philip. Caligula's successor, Claudius, not merely confirmed his predecessor's gift, but added several other fresh possessions.¹ Among these, "Ἀβίλα ἡ Λυσανίου" appears, which therefore, although an original member of the tetrarchy of Lysanias, cannot have been comprised in Caligula's grant. Besides, we are expressly assured by Josephus, the last time he makes mention of the tetrarchy of Lysanias, that Abila really originally belonged to it.³ These passages from Josephus force us to the conclusion that, in perfect accordance with the statement of Luke, a younger Lysanias must have been reigning over Abilene, and that as tetrarch, between the years 734 and 790. Even the period of his reign had been determined with no small precision, by means of the clever mode of examination of his title of tetrarch, adopted by Hug. He says (*l. c.*), "The division of Palestine into tetrarchies was not resolved on until after the death of Herod. The Romans, farsighted in all their measures, were indisposed to leave widespread territories in the hand of an individual, who might easily have become too powerful. They therefore divided Galatia into four principalities, adding a portion of Lycaonia to make up the number, and called them Tetrarchies, and their governors Tetrarchs. The same course was also adopted by them in other places. The dominions left by Herod were dealt with by them in the following manner. Archelaus received his portion, and as a mark of superiority, the name of Ethnarch. Herod Antipas received the second portion as a tetrarchy, Philip, the third, under a like character, and to complete the four, the possessions of Lysanias were included under the new appellation of the Tetrarchy of Abilene. The matter is so

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* XIX. 5. 1.

² "Ἀβίλαν δὲ τὴν Λυσανίου καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τῇ Λιβάνῳ ὕρι ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ προσετίθει. Hug and others are incorrect in saying that the Emperor Claudius only confirmed Caligula's gift of the tetrarchy of Lysanias.

³ Προσθεὶς τὴν Τραχωνίτιν σὺν Ἀβίλᾳ. Λυσανίᾳ δὲ αὕτη ἐγγεγόνει τετραρχία. *Ant.* XX. 7. 1. Since in this passage Abila is made identical with the entire tetrarchy of Lysanias, it is evident that the town of this name, now Nebi Abel, must have been the capital.

obvious, that it is difficult to conceive how it could have been overlooked." As a necessary complement,¹ however, to this investigation of Hug, we must add the remark, that his view of the origin of the tetrarchy of our Lysanias seems even to derive confirmation from the passage in Luke. The tetrarchy of Lysanias was neither a constituent part of the kingdom of Herod, nor a district frequently resorted to either by our Lord or the Baptist during their ministry, nor yet a country whose rulers were better known than others of their age, so as to furnish a convenient note of time for the determination of the epoch. How then can the mention of it in Luke be explained, except on the view that this tetrarchy stood in some peculiar relations to the other kingdoms mentioned here, a view which Hug was the first to develop in the passage given above? For in Luke iii. 1, we have actually just the four tetrarchies, and the four tetrarchs, supposed by Hug, with the exception that, as was to be expected at the time, in place of Archelaus, the ethnarch of Judea, the Roman governor Pontius Pilate is introduced. In addition to these passages of Josephus, the existence of our Lysanias is supported by a coin, which on its superscription bears the name of a tetrarch Lysanias,² as well as by an inscription discovered by Pococke in a Doric temple on the hill of Nebi Abel, the ancient Abila, fifteen English miles from Damascus. This inscription, though somewhat defaced, he tells us, gives not only the year when the temple was built (though unfortunately he does not inform us what year it was), but also the name of Lysanias as tetrarch of Abilene.³

We may therefore bring our investigation concerning

¹ This remark is essential, because we learn from the history of that period that the name Tetrarch was sometimes bestowed as a mere title, and without any corresponding division of territory. Cf. Noldii, *de Vita et Gestis Herodum*, p. 255.

² Sestini, *Lettere e Dissertazioni Numismatiche*, Tom. vi. Firenze, 1819, p. 101, Tab. II. Hug was the first, as far as I know, to bring forward this fact.

³ Pococke, II. § 177. ΑΥΞΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ. Schubert saw the remains of the temple, and bore in mind the Greek inscription which Pococke discovered, but was unable to find it *Reise*, vol. iii. p. 310.

Lysanias to a close with Hug's concluding remark: "We have another opportunity of proving that in the cases in which the endeavour has been made to convict Luke of a want of knowledge of facts, the honour, such as it is, belongs elsewhere."

(5) Ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Κάϊάφα. Annas, who is here mentioned, the son of Seth, was high-priest at the time of the census of Quirinus, *i.e.* 759 A.U.C.,¹ but was deposed at the commencement of the reign of Tiberius (*i.e.* after the 19th of August, 767 A.U.C.), by the recently appointed governor, Valerius Gratus.² His successor was Ishmael, the son of Phabi, who was in his turn deprived of his office, μετ' οὐ πολὺ, *i.e.* as the context shews, probably in much less than a year, and was succeeded by Eleazar, another son of the same Annas. After the interval of a year he was replaced by Simon, the son of Camithus, and again after a year's time by Joseph Caiaphas. It follows therefore that the Caiaphas of the Gospels entered on the high-priest's office in 770,³ from which he was not removed until the Passover of 789, about the same time that Pilate was recalled.⁴ Consequently, Caiaphas was the acting high-priest of the Jews during the whole time of the public ministry of our Lord and John the Baptist. It is clear, then, from Josephus that the two ἀρχιερείς, Annas and Caiaphas, were actually at the head of the Jewish theocracy at the time of our Lord's public ministry. It is, however, remarkable that Annas is mentioned by Luke along with Caiaphas, since it never happened that two individuals filled the office of high-priest at the same time—indeed, in this instance the very contrary is expressly stated by Josephus to have been the case—and still more remarkable that Annas is even named by himself as ἀρχιερεύς.⁵

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2. 1.

² This agrees with the statement of Josephus, that Gratus spent eleven years in Judea. For eleven added to 767 gives us the year 778 A.U.C., towards the close of which Gratus was succeeded by Pontius Pilate.

³ Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 2. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* 4. 3.

⁵ It is now almost universally acknowledged that the plural ἀρχιερέων, which we find in the *Textus receptus*, is a later correction for the

Passing over the thoroughly unhistorical view that Annas and Caiaphas at that period performed the functions of the office alternately, there remain the following attempts at a solution of the difficulty which deserve notice.¹ (1) It is assumed that Annas bears the title of ἀρχιερεύς in this passage, as one who had formerly filled the office, and the introduction of his name is justified on the ground that, as we see from Acts iv. 6, John xviii. 13, he was even at a later period possessed of considerable personal influence. Even Strauss² professes himself satisfied with this view. Its correctness may, however, be questioned on very sufficient grounds. For not to mention the strangeness of such a mode of fixing a date, as “at the time of the late high-priest Annas,” we should, on the one hand, have to enquire into the reasons of the superior influence attributed to Annas in these passages, which accurate investigation proves not to have belonged to him in a private capacity; while, on the other hand, it is grammatically inadmissible for ἀρχιερέως in this passage to be regarded in any other light than as denoting a permanent official dignity: for otherwise the article τοῦ must certainly have stood before ἀρχιερέως, which itself would have been more appropriately placed after Ἀννα. Besides, even if the clause had run ἐν τῇ Ἀννα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, the context would have obliged us to have referred it to some ruler, since none but such are there mentioned. Since, then, the words admit of no other translation than this, “in the time of the high-priesthood of Annas, and in the time of Caiaphas;” those commentators have unquestionably come to a more correct conclusion who regard ἀρχιερεύς as denoting an official position filled by Annas, either as ἱερεὺς³ or high-priest’s deputy (as is singular ἀρχιερέως. Indeed this is proved by a reference to the MSS. See Schulz and Lachmann.

¹ For the history of the exegesis of this passage, see Wolf and Köcher, *in loc.*

² *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 359.

³ It may be that this office is nothing but a rabbinical fiction. At least, though Kühnöl *in loc.* quotes Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 6. 4, in proof of its existence, Anger has shewn (*de temporum in Actis Ap. ratione*, p. 94) that the Joseph there spoken of, the son of Ellem, though he only discharged the duties of the high-priest for a single day, is

maintained by Lightfoot, Reland, Wolf, Kühnöl, Paulus, De Wette), or as נֹסֵב, *i.e.* President of the Great Sanhedrim, as is assumed by Selden.¹ These, however, are no more than conjectures, which cannot be strictly proved either from history, or by the general use of the word ἀρχιερεύς. And yet I believe, if only we examine the parallel passages of the New Testament more closely than has hitherto been done, and endeavour to harmonize the conclusions thus attained, we shall be able to arrive at some more precise and certain conclusion.

We have then two questions to solve: (1) how could the Evangelist represent Annas as a ruling ἀρχιερεύς, when he was not the acting high-priest? and (2) how could he give Annas the priority to the acting high-priest of the day? Until these two questions have been answered satisfactorily, we cannot assert that no further objections can be brought against Luke's statement. Now, since the predicate ἀρχιερεύς, in spite of its being placed first in the clause, can be referred to Annas alone, it must belong to him in an entirely different sense to that in which it could also have been applied to Caiaphas. This, therefore, leads us to enquire whether any other official personage besides the high-priest can be denoted by ἀρχιερεύς. Now if we pay attention to the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament, and Luke in particular, it will shew us that the title ἀρχιερεύς marks out Annas as the Nasi, *i.e.* the President of the great Sanhedrim, the highest civil and spiritual court of the Jews, which, after Judea had ceased to be governed by native princes, was invested with the most absolute authority. If this be correct, we have at once a most satisfactory reply to the first, and partially to the second enquiry.

We may regard it as an established fact, that ἀρχιερεύς

looked upon by Josephus, who, we must remember, lived while the temple was still standing, and was not merely a Jew, but himself of a priestly family, as an actual high-priest. Against the idea of a Sagan being intended in this passage, see Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* vi. p. 529.

¹ *De Synedriis et præfecturis juridicis veterum Ebreorum*, n. 655. He also holds that Caiaphas was נֹסֵב, the second in authority in the Sanhedrim.

may signify a member of the Sanhedrim who was of the priestly tribe. In proof of this, we may refer to the constantly recurring expression, οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, to which is sometimes added οἱ γραμματεῖς, by which the different ranks of the members of the Sanhedrim were denoted.¹ It is also perfectly clear, that the President of the Sanhedrim, the Nasi, might bear this name, especially from Acts v. 21, 27, vii. 1, ix. 1, 2, xxii. 5, xxiii. 2, 4, xxiv. 1, in which passages the word ἀρχιερεὺς uniformly denotes either persons who summoned the Sanhedrim, or who spoke first in it, and issued orders; in short, the president. Every conclusion, however, which might be drawn from this, would be evaded, if it were true, as not a few² have imagined, that the high-priest was *eo ipso* President of the great Sanhedrim: and in this case Annas³ would not even have been president, but the high-priest Caiaphas. But the presidentship of the high-priest cannot be inferred even for earlier times from Deut. xvii. 8 sqq., while the matter was certainly arranged differently in New Testament times. This is evident from Acts v. 17 sqq., where, while the president is termed throughout ἀρχιερεὺς,⁴ ὁ ἱερεὺς⁵ is distinguished from him.⁶ By this last word, the rendering of the Old Testament הַכֹּהֵן = לְהַדְרֹת הַכֹּהֵן, only the *high-priest* can be denoted. It follows, then, that in this case the high-priest⁷ and the Nasi were not the same person.

The language of Acts xxiii. 1 sqq. (cf. xxiv. 1), is still more explicit. It is certainly possible that at the time of

¹ Cf. e.g. Matt. xxvii. 1, Mar. xv. 1, Lu. xxii. 66, etc.

² For a proof of the contrary from the Talmud, see Selden, *De Synedriis*, II. p. 437 ff., 498 ff. The mere comparison of the traditional list of the Presidents of the Sanhedrim given by Selden, unless indeed it is devoid of historical foundation, is enough to prove that they were not the same, for the catalogue of the high-priests given by Josephus is perfectly different.

³ Lu. iii. 2.

⁴ vv. 17, 21, 27.

⁵ The latest commentators on the Acts, De Wette, Olshausen, and Meyer, unanimously decide in favour of the genuineness of ὁ ἱερεὺς.

⁶ v. 24.

⁷ We may perhaps assume that Luke in general, when speaking of the Nasi, and of the high-priest, calls the one ὁ ἱερεὺς and the other ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς. For Lu. xxii. 54, see the section on our Lord's Passion.

Paul's hearing before the Sanhedrim, which is here mentioned, when Ananias acted as president, he was also acting high-priest. Ananias, the son of Nebedæus, was elected high-priest by Herod, king of Chalcis, brother of Agrippa I., in 801 A.U.C.,¹ and, notwithstanding the charges brought against him in Rome (805 A.U.C., or 806 at latest), of which, however, he was acquitted,² held his office till³ the appointment of Ishmael, the son of Phabi.⁴ Now, since this Ishmael was certainly appointed under the procurator Felix, and, as appears probable from Josephus, only a short time before his departure (although we have

¹ Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 5. 8. Cf. *Ant.* xx. 7. 1.

² *Ant.* xx. 6. 2. 3.

³ Many writers have indeed conjectured that Jonathan, who is really called $\delta \alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ by Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 8. 5, *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. 3, succeeded Ananias immediately after his accusation in 805 A.U.C. But they are certainly in error. For, on the one hand, this title, which may be understood in so many different ways, of itself proves nothing, and as Anger, p. 94, has well shewn against Reland on *Ant.* xx. 8. 5, ed. Haverk., the 28 high-priests reckoned by Josephus from Herod the Great to the destruction of Jerusalem are fully made up, even if this Jonathan is omitted. On the other hand, the number 28 remains, even if Jonathan was Ananias' successor, if we suppose that this Jonathan was the same with Jonathan the son of Annas, who at an earlier period had enjoyed the high-priest's office, *Ant.* xviii. 4. 3; 5. 3. For Josephus, in his list, only counts the individual priests once, even though they were invested with the office more than once at intervals. But it is hard to believe that Jonathan the son of Annas would have accepted his renewed elevation to the high-priest's dignity, since he had previously (*Ant.* xix. 6. 4) refused it, saying that God had judged him unworthy of this dignity, and that he was content with having held it once. Jonathan, therefore, as an adherent of the law, behaved in accordance with the custom mentioned, *Ant.* xv. 3. 1. Besides, Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 8. 6, *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. 5, speaks of the appearance of the Egyptian false prophet, mentioned Acts xxi. 38, after the murder of Jonathan, which agrees with the statement (*de B. J.* ii. 13. 3) that he was the first to fall into the hands of the $\sigma\kappa\alpha\delta\iota\omicron\iota$, or banditti. We learn from the Acts that this insurrection occurred about the time of the apprehension of Paul by the chief captain, when this hearing before Ananias took place, but $\pi\rho\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\upsilon$. There is therefore an additional reason why the death of this Jonathan must have preceded this hearing. Finally, it is Josephus' rule to mention expressly the accession of a new high-priest, and the only exception in the whole list would be this Jonathan.

⁴ *Ant.* xx. 8. 8.

here the somewhat indefinite expression *κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν*), it is at any rate possible, I might even say probable, that at the time of Paul's imprisonment, Ananias was still acting high-priest, so that he was at that time invested at once with the office of high-priest and Nasi.¹ We draw this conclusion from the fact that, according to Acts xxiv. 27, Felix was not recalled from his province till two years after the hearing of Paul before the Sanhedrim (*διετίας πληρωθείσης*), recorded in that passage. But if Ananias, the president of the Sanhedrim, was at that time also the officiating high-priest, it may still be demonstrated from the narrative in the Acts, that he did not preside in his character of high-priest, and that he might consequently have acted as president if he had ceased to fill that office. This appears, *first*, from the fact that Paul could excuse himself² by saying that he "wist not that" Ananias "was high-priest,"³ since, if the high-priest *as such* had filled the position of Nasi, he would have appeared in the Sanhedrim as high-priest, and therefore in his sacerdotal costume, so that Paul must have immediately recognized him. But if the office of Nasi was no integral part of the high-priest's office, so that the Nasi was not as such obliged to officiate as high-priest, Ananias, even though he might happen to be high-priest as well, would have necessarily appeared, not in the sacerdotal costume, but in the ordinary dress of a citizen, as was always the case when he was not fulfilling his sacerdotal office.⁴ *Secondly*, we come to the same conclusion from the fact that Paul grounds his duty of paying respect to Ananias on Exod. xxii. 27, a text which has express reference to the person of the Nasi,⁵ not that of the high-priest, which he could not have done unless

¹ According to Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, Annas, the tyrannical son of the Nasi Annas, by whom James the brother of our Lord was condemned to death, was at the same time high-priest and Nasi.

² Acts xxiii. 5.

³ Cf. Meyer *in loc.* in refutation of other modes of interpreting *οὐκ ᾔδειν*.

⁴ *Ant.* xviii. 4. 3.

⁵ "*Ἀρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς* is the rendering of the original Hebrew *לֹא תִשָּׁמַר בְּעַד הָאֲדָמָה*, so that *Ἀρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ* actually answers to *אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה*.

the office of Nasi was still distinct from that of high-priest, and Ananias could claim the reverence of Paul as Nasi for the time being. But if the office of Nasi and high-priest were not necessarily united in the same person, there is no longer any cause for surprise if Luke (iii. 2) informs us (according to our view of the passage), that in the fifteenth year of Tiberus, Annas was Nasi, and Caiaphas, high-priest.

The correctness of our view may, however, be confirmed by other dates referring more particularly to Annas. *First*, from Acts iv. 5, 6. Here we find that no long time after the ascension of our Lord the Sanhedrim was gathered together for the purpose of trying the apostles Peter and John. Annas again appears as the Nasi of the day, as is proved by the fact that he stands at the head of the members of the Sanhedrim, who are particularly mentioned as persons of influence, and is thus undoubtedly pointed out as the chief person, and also that to him the predicate ἀρχιερεύς is applied, which, as we have seen in the passages cited above, can in *this* connection, when the subject spoken of is the assembling of the Sanhedrim, denote the Nasi alone: while if the theory we are contending against were correct, Caiaphas, who is certainly mentioned as the acting high-priest, must have been named first, and would certainly have been designated by the title of ἀρχιερεύς. *Secondly*, we may prove the same from John's Gospel, in which, just as in Luke, Caiaphas is named as the acting high-priest at that time,¹ but does not appear as the president of the Sanhedrim which assembled then, but merely as εἰς τὴν among the rest (v. 49), exactly as in Acts iv. 6. John, however, mentions Annas together with Caiaphas;² indeed, according to his statement, the Saviour, after His apprehension, was led to Annas first (πρὸς Ἀνναν πρῶτον). It is certain that this weighty influence cannot have belonged to him as a private individual, nor yet as father-in-law to the high-priest Caiaphas, for we are told that he conducted the previous examination of our Lord as ἀρχιερεύς, v. 19, that the

¹ Joh. xi. 51, 52; *ib.* 49, 50. Cf. xviii. 13 14, 24.

² Joh. xviii. 13, 15—24.

officers of justice were assembled at his house, and especially that one of them used the words, οὕτως ἀποκρίνη τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, and that our Lord was smitten for want of respect to the ἀρχιερεύς, a circumstance which throws light on the analogous event in the life of Paul.¹ It follows, therefore, that in John, too, Annas appears as acting ἀρχιερεύς together with (the high-priest) Caiaphas, i.e. as Nasi of the Sanhedrim. If then, when Luke is fixing the date of the events recorded,² he gives the Nasi Annas the precedence over Caiaphas the high-priest of the day, this may be easily explained, (even apart from all his purely personal relations, e.g. that he was Caiaphas' senior, and also his father-in-law,³ that he had already filled the office of high-priest, that he and his family had long enjoyed the highest consideration among the Jews,⁴) from the great influence over Jewish affairs generally, claimed by the Sanhedrim, the highest civil and religious court among the Jews, of which Annas was the president, especially at a time when the native sovereigns of Judah had ceased to exercise any authority at all; of which we may see an example in the official enquiry instituted by it into the authority by which John the Baptist exercised his office as Teacher.⁵ It is also elucidated by the context, in which Annas, the president of a mixed court, would form the most suitable point of transition from the purely civil rulers mentioned in Luke iii. 1, to Caiaphas, the purely ecclesiastical chief of the Jews—as well as by the decisive influence exercised by the Sanhedrim in general, and Annas its president in particular, on the history of our Lord, who, as we know, received His sentence of death before the bar of this court.⁶

We have now subjected the whole of the notes of time

¹ Acts xxiii. 1—5.

² Lu. iii. 2.

³ Joh. xviii. 13.

⁴ On this point Josephus says of Annas, *Ant.* xx. 9. 1: τοῦτον δὲ φασὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἄνναν εὐτυχεστάτον γενέσθαι· πέντε γὰρ ἔσχε παῖδας, καὶ τούτους πάντας συνέβη ἀρχιερατεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ, αὐτὸς καὶ πρότερον τῆς τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπολαύσας· ὅπερ οὐδενὶ συνέβη τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων.

⁵ Joh. i. 19 sq.

⁶ The previous resolution to put our Lord to death had already issued from the same Sanhedrim, Joh. xi. 47—53. Cf. ix. 22, Lu. xxii. 1—6, parall. Joh. xviii. 13—24, Lu. xxii. 66—xxiii. 1, Mar. xiv. 55—65, xv. 1, Matt. xxvi. 59—68, xxvii. 1, 2.

to a strict examination, and we can arrive at no other conclusion than this, which cannot be impressed too frequently or too decidedly on the opponents of a New Testament chronology, that while, up to this point, Luke has not only shewn his desire to proceed in strict chronological principles, but may be proved to have actually done so, he has in these two verses attested both his endeavour after and his knowledge of chronology in a very evident manner: for he has not made a single statement which does not harmonize most perfectly with the leading date, the fifteenth year of Tiberius, *i.e.* 19 Aug., 781 A.U.C.—19 Aug., 782 A.U.C.

The question now arises, what is the fact that is determined by this date? a question the solution of which is not only of the greatest importance for the chronological character of the Gospel of Luke, and of the whole Gospel-history in general, but also, if I am not mistaken, pretty nearly decisive in favour of the synoptical unity of the four Gospels. This is what I must plead in justification for the length to which our argument on this point will extend.

San Clemente, whose views we shall examine hereafter, is almost the only writer who does not proceed on the view that Luke intended by the above dates to fix the time of the Baptist's first public appearance, which, on this supposition, must have taken place in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, *i.e.* at earliest, the end of August, 781 A.U.C., and our Lord's baptism about half a year later. However, if this hypothesis be correct, there will at once appear—to go no further at present than the most general objections—a direct contradiction to the conclusion arrived at above, *viz.* that our Lord was baptized 780 A.U.C., and at latest at the end of that year. Nay, Luke would be made to contradict his own earlier statements, since, as we have seen, he places the baptism of our Lord in His thirty-first year, while, according to this view, the dates given would fix it in the year 782. Consequently, our Lord must have been born at the close of 751 A.U.C., or more probably 752 A.U.C.¹ But the same Evangelist has already fixed the

¹ The Fathers argue in this way, when (as is not unfrequently the

date of our Lord's birth by the following notes of time: the reign of Herod the Great, and still further back, the census in Judea not long after the imperial edicts ordaining the census of the empire, which carry us back at least beyond Nisan 750, when Herod was already dead. It follows, then, that Luke must have had so little acquaintance with the whole history of the period which comprehended the sacred narrative he treats of, as to imagine that these two events took place two full years after they really occurred; an ignorance which, when we consider his chronological knowledge (of which we have already adduced instances, and at the very outset proved by a striking example), must at once appear *à priori* highly improbable. We could hardly pardon such an error, and should be led strongly to suspect a general carelessness throughout his history. For even if it only related to the date of an event in our Lord's life, there would not be wanting exegetists to ascribe so palpable a mistake either to the scantiness of his information, or the unauthentic character of the sources from which he derived it. But here we have to do with the fixing of dates in profane history, for acquaintance with which no Evangelist was needed, and besides, with dates so well known that if the author had taken the slightest pains he could not have remained in ignorance of them. Having, therefore, such decided indications to the contrary, the reasons in support of such an opinion must indeed be very convincing, if we are to assume that the date of the *first* public appearance of the Baptist is really determined by the chronological statements, Luke iii. 1, 2.

What then are these reasons? So completely has this opinion been taken as a fundamental axiom, without any further investigation, in framing a synoptical view of the Gospels, that authors have not been in the habit of stating their reasons for entertaining it. There are reasons, however, operating in the dark, which are certainly not destitute of plausibility; such perhaps as the following. In the first place, it appears to have been assumed, more

case, cf. p. 126, note 2) they make the year of our Lord's birth contemporaneous with 751 and 752 A.U.C.

or less consciously, that because the other two Synoptists had given a special description of the first public appearance of the Baptist,¹ Luke must have done the same, and if so, it can only be in Luke iii. 1 sqq. But even if I were ready to grant the correctness of the conclusion, though we have already had an allusion to the first public appearance of the Baptist,² yet I must deny the justice of the premiss. It is, in fact, nothing more than a relic of that antiquated harmonizing tendency which led men to imagine that whatever one of the Synoptists has stated must be stated by the others also. We must, however, before we advance, enquire whether it was Luke's intention to relate the same fact; which can, of course, only be determined from Luke's own words, and the connection of his whole narrative. Now, it must be confessed that Luke's words seem in a remarkable degree to lend support to that view, and that not only when viewed by themselves, but also when compared with the synoptical parallels. For (1) we read, Luke iii. 2, ἐγένετο ῥῆμα Θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάν. Ζαχ. υἱόν, a clause which seems to intimate the first awakening of the spirit of the Baptist followed by any important consequences, with which the notice that it took place ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ³ perfectly agrees. But the Greek expression ῥῆμα Θεοῦ, which answers to the Hebrew דְּבַר יְהוָה, may just as well denote a *later* awakening (it is certainly nowhere asserted that it was the *first*), and why should not that have happened in the desert to one who was emphatically a man of the desert? Indeed, we shall hereafter see that such was really the case. We must further notice that the precise theatre of John's ministry is, in fact, defined differently by Luke and the other two Synoptists. The two former⁴ speak of the wilderness from which John now and then betook himself to the Jordan for the purposes of baptism; Luke, of the περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.⁵

(2) It may appear singular that the Baptist, after his second awakening, should have spoken almost the same

¹ Matt. iii. 1 sqq., Mark i. sqq.

² Lu. i. 80.

³ Cf. Matt. iii. 1, Mar. i. 3, 4.

⁴ Matt. iii. 1, Mar. i. 4.

⁵ Lu. iii. 3.

words as at his earlier.¹ And yet, even in this respect, the similarity is hardly greater than the dissimilarity. What Luke has in common with the two Synoptists, only appears in the single verse in which the Baptist describes his subordinate relation to the Lord; a declaration which appears to have had generally something of a stereotyped character with him.² While there are decided variations in Lu. iii. 1, 2, 18—20, the only instances of striking agreement are in Lu. iii. 7—9. (Cf. Matt. iii. 7—10.) Lu. iii. 17. (Cf. Matt. iii. 12.) If, then, we consider on the one hand, the chronological position of Matthew in his discourses, and on the other, Luke's strict chronological bias, which is so markedly apparent in this passage, it will scarcely seem surprising if we maintain that it is Luke who has given the correct chronological arrangement of the Baptist's discourses. Still, we have no objection to admit that the words which Luke has in common with Matthew may have been already spoken by the Baptist, in this sense, after his first awakening. But he must have spoken similar words at his subsequent awakening, about two years later, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; since both in substance and form they express the essential characteristics of his preparatory preaching in which he called the people to repentance. It was necessary for Luke to portray the Baptist's ministry in its individuality and importance to supply his readers with the reasons which led Herod Antipas to imprison him at that time.³ This he did, while that he might add as little as possible of his own he adopted the words of a previous authority, and then in *v.* 18 gave a connecting link with the event narrated in *vv.* 19, 20. Can we then quarrel with him for this objectivity in the form of his narration? If, then, we may conclude with certainty from the foregoing investigation, that the ordinary view based on Lu. iii. 1, which places the first public appearance of the Baptist in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, is connected with a one-sided system of harmony, the inadmissibility of which

¹ Lu. iii. 7—10. Cf. Matt. iii. 7—10. Lu. iii. 16, 17. Cf. Matt. iii. 11, 12. Mar. i. 7, 8.

² Lu. iii. 16. Cf. Matt. iii. 11, Mar. i. 7, 8.

³ Lu. iii. 7—17, 19, 20

could only remain concealed because the Evangelist's fundamental data had not been accurately determined; it follows that the proof of its inadmissibility must be immensely strengthened if it can be shewn what particular awakening of the Baptist is intended in Lu. iii. 1. I think that the one intended was that which, as we learn from Lu. iii. 20, was speedily followed by the Baptist's imprisonment, from which it follows that it is the Baptist's imprisonment, and not his first public appearance, which is defined by the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius.

In support of this view the following reasons may be adduced. (1) Remarkably enough, the section closes with the mention of this imprisonment.¹ Now to evade the conclusion that the date of this event is that fixed by the 15th year of Tiberius, it may certainly be supposed that the Evangelist having mentioned the Baptist was anxious to finish all he had to say about him at once, much as he had previously done.² This view, however, is assumed without any necessity; since if his object had really been to bring his narrative of the Baptist's history to a final close, he would not have contented himself with stating that Herod cast him into prison, but would certainly have added that he also put him to death. If it is said that perhaps Luke himself was ignorant of his violent death, this is at once contradicted by Luke ix. 7—9. (2) It has appeared surprising to some writers³ that the most precise

¹ Lu. iii. 20.

² Lu. i. 80.

³ See Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 361 ff. This argument is employed by Sanclemente in his *Exercitatio Chronologica*, appended to his larger work, *De Vulg. Ær. Emendat.*, as by us, to prove that Lu. iii. 1, 2, does not refer to the first commencement of the Baptist's ministry. The acute Jesuit has, however, been more successful in overthrowing than in building up. He seeks to prove, p. 559 sq. "Annum xv. Tiberii non ad initium ministerii Joannis, non ad baptismum a Christi in Jordane susceptum, sed ad ipsius passionis et crucifixionis tempus ipso evangelista duce atque interprete esse referendum." For unfortunately he *à priori* accepts the erroneous tradition of the ancient Latin Church, that our Lord was crucified in the consulate of the two Gemini, March 25, 782 A.U.C., and as this consulate coincides with the 15th year of Tiberius, that date must refer to the year of our Lord's death. We see at once, however, how little the passage under consideration accords with the positive side of his view, when, to

chronological statement in the Gospel of Luke refers to a fact in the life of the Baptist. And reasonably enough, since the Evangelist's object was to write the life of Christ. Our view of the passage at once removes this objection. For if it is the date of the Baptist's imprisonment that is fixed by Luke iii. 1, 2, the date of a most important epoch in the life of our Lord is also determined at the same time, since the comprehensive Galilean ministry of Christ dated from the imprisonment of His forerunner.¹ (3) Luke, who must surely be admitted to be his own best interpreter, in other passages of his writings (for that the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts proceeded from the same author is universally acknowledged and is beyond all doubt²) sets forth the Baptist's imprisonment as the great turning-point in the life of our Lord.³ It is true that in the first passage we may share Kühnöl's doubts, whether on account of the word ἀρξάμενος⁴ the βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου may not refer to the Baptism of our Lord by John. But since the expression τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου, taken in this sense, would involve a harsh ellipse, we would rather understand ἀρξ. of the baptism of John, i.e. the baptism preached by John,⁵ and then of course its termination, which coincided with his imprisonment.⁶ It must also be borne in mind that it is only from this time that we can assert, as is done Acts i. 22, that those who were hereafter to be His Apostles constantly associated with Christ. For the other Apostles were certainly set apart to their office shortly after the Baptist's imprisonment,⁷ while our Lord immediately after His own Baptism had not as yet a single disciple; and yet nothing could have been required of the new members of the band that was either impossible or fairly exceeded what was required from the other Apostles.

prove his position, he places a note of admiration (sic!) after Καὶ τότε, with the view of separating that date entirely from the appearance of the Baptist, and referring it immediately to the Passion and Death of our Lord. The natural consequence has been, that what was true in his reasoning has been completely disregarded when it appeared in this objectionable shape.

¹ Mar. i. 14, Matt. iv. 12.

² Acts i. 22, x. 37, xiii. 24.

³ Cf. Meyer and De Wette, Acts i. 22.

⁴ Mar. i. 14, Matt. iv. 12.

⁵ Cf. Lu. i. 3, Acts i. 1.

⁶ Cf. Lu. iii. 23.

⁷ Lu. vi. 13, Mar. iii. 14.

In conclusion, our interpretation of the words βάπτ. Ἰωάνν. is confirmed by the parallel passages in the Acts,¹ and most strikingly by the first passage, in which μετὰ τὸ βάπτ. ὁ ἐκήρυξεν Ἰωάνν.² corresponds to ἀπὸ τοῦ βάπτ. Ἰωάνν. thus leaving no doubt of the meaning of the latter.³

(4) It is a point of peculiar importance that Luke in Acts xiii. 25, i.e. in a passage in which allusion is evidently made to the Baptist's speech related Luke iii. 16, gives its date expressly by the words ὡς δὲ ἐπλήρου ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸν δρόμον. If now we understand the δρόμος of the Baptist, not of his course to the goal of life marked out for him by a higher Hand, but (as is plain from the preceding verse⁴) of his course to fulfil the mission appointed him in reference to Christ, i.e. of his public ministry; it follows by reason of the word ἐπλήρου⁵ with which it is introduced, that he must have uttered his testimony to Jesus, according to Luke's own account, only a short time

¹ Acts x. 37, xiii. 24.

² The words ἀρξάμενος, Acts i. 22, and ἀρξάμενον, Acts x. 37 (cf. Lu. xxiii. 5), as used by Luke, therefore, point out the end of John's Baptism, which was brought about by his imprisonment, as an epoch of so much importance in our Lord's Messianic career (= ἡ ἰσθόδος αὐτοῦ, Acts xiii. 24), when compared with its actual commencement in His Baptism, Lu. iii. 23, that this retires into the shade, and the other comes forward as the true ἀρχή. With this the words of the Evangelist at the opening of his Gospel agree, Lu. i. 2, οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου. The position of the words evidently shews that those are meant "who were from the *beginning* (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς) both eyewitnesses and ministers of the word," i.e. the apostles; for there are none but these to whom the double description "eyewitnesses and ministers of the word *from the beginning*" would apply. For it is not till after the Baptist's imprisonment that they were set apart as apostles or ministers of the word, Lu. vi. 13, Mar. iii. 14. From which it follows that this period is mentioned here as the ἀρχή of our Lord's Messianic ministry. Cf. Lu. xxiv. 47, where ἀρξάμενον also indicates a new epoch in the preaching of Jesus by means of His disciples.

³ Cf. De Wette and Meyer *in loc.*

⁴ Acts xiii. 24.

⁵ De Wette and Meyer correctly explain ἐπλήρου, "when John was on the point (imperf.) of completing his course." Heinrichs, on the other hand, with Kühnöl and Olshausen, in defiance of the meaning of the word and the context, understands ἐπλ. of the middle of the Baptist's course. This is easily to be explained from the fact that he compared the chronological import of the word, with Lu. iii., where he was of opinion that the *first* public appearance of the Baptist was described.

before his imprisonment.¹ This testimony, however, was delivered, according to the Gospel, in the 15th year of Tiberius. It follows therefore that this last note of time must have been intended by Luke to fix the date not of the first public appearance, but of the imprisonment of the Baptist. (5) It would certainly be very remarkable if it were merely accidental, that the Apostle John, who certainly places our Lord's Baptism in 780 A.U.C., should nevertheless, as we shall subsequently see to be the case, give a date for the Baptist's imprisonment perfectly corresponding to the 15th year of Tiberius.

These reasons are quite enough to satisfy us at this preliminary stage. But if, by virtue of the reasons adduced above, we can assume that Luke gives the 15th year of Tiberius as the date for the final awakening of the Baptist, and his imprisonment which followed thereon, the narrative in his Gospel will be found to proceed as follows. He commences the public ministry of our Lord with the termination of the Baptist's ministry, *i.e.* with his imprisonment and the circumstances immediately preceding it, in the 15th year of Tiberius or 782 A.U.C.² Then he introduces the account of the Baptism of Christ in His 31st year, *i.e.* 780 A.U.C. (which he therefore does not consider a point of equal importance in the life of our Lord),³ and of His temptation,⁴ which followed immediately upon His baptism,⁵ so as to be able again to take up at iv. 14 the thread dropped at iii. 20, and to describe the ministry of Christ immediately after the imprisonment of His forerunner. Remarkably enough, too, the synoptical parallels to the last passage⁶ introduce the same note of time *μετὰ τὸ παραδοθῆναι Ἰωάννην*.

The progression in the Gospel of Luke here exhibited has nothing at all obscure in it, and certainly could not have been overlooked by Theophilus, the reader for whom it was originally intended. For setting aside the fact that he must have been familiar at any rate with the outlines

¹ Cf. Joh. iii. 38.

² Lu. iii. 1—20.

³ Cf. p. 191. Lu. iii. 21—38.

⁴ Lu. iv. 1—13.

⁵ Lu. iv. 1. Cf. iii. 21, 22.

⁶ Mar. i. 14, Matt. iv. 12.

of the Gospel-history,¹ Luke himself is most careful to intimate that the series of events recorded by him² occurred before the 15th year of Tiberius. For in the first place he remarks at the very outset that the Baptism of Jesus took place when He was about thirty years old,³ a statement which, when taken in connection with the dates he had given previously for determining our Lord's birth, excludes all doubt that it is to be placed about two years before the 15th year of Tiberius mentioned Luke iii. 1.

Indeed, the introduction of the words *ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος*,⁴ which, as we have seen,⁵ form a supplementary clause inserted for the purpose of expressly connecting the thirtieth year of our Lord's life with the time of His Baptism, seems, according to its logical necessity, to be only explicable on the assumption that Luke had shortly before spoken in such a way of a later epoch in our Lord's life—I mean the imprisonment of the Baptist, Luke iii. 20—that without this express supplemental clause the thirty years might perhaps have been also referred to that. In the second place, the Evangelist says, at the close of the last narrative of this series, the Temptation of Jesus, that the devil departed from Him, *ἄχρι καιροῦ*,⁶ and thus consequently again places a longer interval between this and the subsequent narrative, iv. 14 sqq. As often, then, as we submit Luke's statements to the proof, which will be done most fully in the course of the general investigation we are entering on, we always obtain the same result, viz. that according to this Evangelist also we must place the Baptism of our Lord in the year 780 A.U.C.

While then the Gospel according to John gives the

¹ Luke says expressly, *ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφαλείαν*.

² Lu. iii. 21—iv. 13.

³ Lu. iii. 23.

⁴ Lu. iii. 23.

⁵ p. 120.

⁶ Lu. iv. 13. Our synoptical arrangement seems to lead to the conclusion that the temptation of the Devil, which recommenced after the interval indicated by *ἄχρι καιροῦ*, must be understood of the persecutions of the Jews which began at that time to assail our Lord, Joh. v. 15—18 ff. For, as we have already seen, and shall see hereafter, our Lord's return to Galilee, Lu. iv. 14, is parallel with His journey mentioned Joh. vi. 1.

end of the year 780 A.U.C. as the extreme *terminus ad quem*, that according to Luke gives February 780 as the extreme *terminus a quo*, since at that time our Lord was already thirty years old, having been born in February 750. It follows therefore that Jesus must have been baptized by John between February, 780 A.U.C., and the end of that year = 27 A.D. With this our investigation, which, it must be confessed, has gained much in certainty, is brought back again to its starting-point.¹

This general result is quite sufficient for the chronological requirements of the New Testament. I may, however, add that it appears to me exceedingly probable that our Lord was baptized in the summer or even in the spring of 780 A.U.C. For, on the one hand, the number and nature of the events to be arranged certainly carry us a good way back beyond the end of 780 A.U.C., while, in addition to this, the winter-months appear scarcely suitable for our Lord's sojourn in the wilderness to which He retired soon after His Baptism;² and, on the other hand, it is not improbable from Luke iii. 23, that our Lord was baptized soon after the completion of His thirtieth year, which He attained in the month of February. This view will receive additional support from the parable of the Barren Fig-tree,³ if, as is certainly very probable,⁴ the *τρία ἔτη* of v. 7 contain an allusion to the duration of our Lord's ministry up to the time when these words were spoken, *i.e.* as we shall see hereafter, the commencement of 783 A.U.C. For our Lord, by this parable of the tree which was to be cut down unless it brought forth fruit, intended to exemplify to His Jewish hearers the purport of His words, v. 5, *ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήτε, πάντες ἀπολείσθε*. The fig-tree on which the Lord had sought fruit three years in vain is therefore indisputably the Jewish nation, which refused to amend at the preaching of Christ. The Lord of the vineyard is God; the "dresser of the vineyard (*ἀμπελουργός*)," who prays for forbearance, is Christ. When we consider how close is the reference of the parable to our Lord's personal relations to the Jewish nation, it is

¹ p. 157.² Lu. iv. 1—12 parall.³ Lu. xiii. 6—9.⁴ Cf. Bengel, *Gnomon*; Olshausen, *Commentar. in loc.*, and others.

scarcely conceivable that it should not be also apparent in the number of years stated to have been spent in tending the fig-tree. Otherwise our Lord would have merely obscured the true sense of the parable by these words. It follows, therefore, that in the *τρία ἔτη* we have a chronological fact, and not merely a so-called *round number* put down for example's sake. However, if we adopt this view, we are not obliged to take the *τρία ἔτη* as *exactly* three years, neither more nor less, for a calculation by months and days would not be suitable to the character of a parable; but still, if we are to recognize in it a chronological fact at all, it must intimate a period of at least from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 years, or at most $3\frac{1}{2}$ years and a little less; for otherwise our Lord would have said in the one case "two years" and in the other "four." If then we count at least two and a half years back¹ from the date of this parable—since we have already proved that our Lord cannot have been baptized before February, 780 A.U.C., when He completed His thirtieth year—we obtain the summer or spring of 780 A.U.C. as the date of our Lord's Baptism and first public appearance. This view is commended, in fine, by the opinion prevailing in the ancient Church, that our Lord exercised His ministry for three years.² Since if Jesus did not commence His work till the end of 780 A.U.C. He would not have spent more than two years and a quarter, or a little over, in teaching, even if we include the forty days during which He showed Himself to His disciples after His death;³ while if His ministry had already commenced in the summer or spring of that year,

¹ I may remark, in passing, that I consider Christ's cursing of the fig-tree (Mar. xi. 12—14, 20, 21, Matt. xxi. 18—20) at a time when the Jewish people brought forth so little fruit, that they were even seeking to put their Lord and Saviour to death, an action to which I agree with Neander and others in attributing a predominating symbolical meaning, as the final fulfilment of the threat to cut down the barren tree uttered no long time before.

² This is not totally at variance with the tradition that Jesus' ministry lasted a single year. This depends on whether His ministry is to be calculated from the day of His baptism, or from the imprisonment of the Baptist, which forms a special epoch in it. In the latter case we really obtain a ministry of a year and two or three months over.

³ Acts i. 3.

we obtain very nearly the three years mentioned by the tradition.

§ 2. *The Date of the Commencement of the Baptist's Ministry.*

The Evangelists have not furnished us with any express chronological data to determine the commencement of the public ministry of the Baptist, since, as we have already seen, Luke iii. 1, 2 is not to be regarded in this light. Nor ought we to see anything surprising in this seeming deficiency, if we consider that it was not the Evangelist's special object to write the life of the Baptist,¹ except so far as it was connected with the life of our Lord and might serve to elucidate it and render it intelligible. And yet, even looking at it from this point of view, the relation in which the Baptist stood to Christ supplies us with certain points of connection, which enable us with a fair degree of probability to determine the period of his first public appearance. For on the one hand, since at all events the fact is established by the testimony of all the Evangelists that John had been exercising his ministry some time before he baptized Christ, an event which must be placed in the spring or summer of 780 A.U.C., it follows that the Baptist must have begun his work some time before this date. On the other hand, especially if the regard paid to the completion of the thirtieth year is really founded on any established Jewish custom, it would not be improbable that the Baptist, as well as our Lord, was thirty years old when he began his public ministry. If this be so, inasmuch as John was born six months before our Lord, *i.e.* Aug., 749 A.U.C., we should have a tolerably well-defined interval, within which the Baptist's ministry must have commenced—viz. from August, 779 A.U.C., to the summer of 780 A.U.C. At the same time we must not conceal from ourselves that it is only the *terminus ad quem* that can be regarded as established, and that the narratives of the Evangelists do not warrant our regarding anything more as certainly proved than that the Baptist cannot have commenced his ministry several years before he

¹ Cf. the remarks on the Baptist's birth-place, section I. ch. iii.

baptized our Lord. It was not till some considerable time after he commenced his work that he attracted the attention of the Sanhedrim.¹ It is, however, well worth attention that shortly before John had completed his thirtieth year (*i.e.* between the autumn (Tisri) of 779 and that of 780 A.U.C.) a Sabbatical year occurred, and since this was especially devoted by the Jews to religious meditation on account of its peculiar sanctity and the cessation of all agricultural labour, it must have awakened in the highest degree the natural hopes excited in the Baptist's mind of a favourable issue to his mission. Now we learn that such Sabbatical years—which, as is well known, occurred every seven years—happened at the periods recorded in 1 Maccab. vi. 49—53,² the end of those years corresponding respectively with the periods between the autumns of 590—591 A.U.C. (*i.e.* the 150th year of the era of the Seleucidæ), 618—619 A.U.C., and 716—717 A.U.C.—as well as, according to Rabbinical tradition, in the year before the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* 821—822 A.U.C.³ From these data it follows that a Sabbatical year must have occurred 189 years subsequently to the first period named, and 42 years before the last, *i.e.* the autumn of 779 A.U.C. I consider it therefore probable that John began his call to repentance immediately after the completion of his thirtieth year, at the commencement of the Sabbatical year⁴ which then occurred. However this may be, the Baptism of Jesus took place, at any rate, in the middle of this Sabbatical year.

THE “TERMINUS AD QUEM” OF THE PERIOD.

The “terminus ad quem” of the period we are here treating of, is determined in a twofold manner in the

¹ Joh. i. 19—27.

² Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8. 1; 7. 4. Ibid. xiv. 16. 2; xv. 1. 2. Cf. 1 Maccab. xvi. 14—16.

³ See Anger, p. 38.

⁴ On the Sabbatical year, which always began with the autumn, and indeed with the month Tisri, see the Mosaic ordinances, Lev. xv., Deut. xv.; also Winer, *R.W.B.* s.v. “Sabbathsjahr” and K. Kranold, *De Anno Hebræorum Jubilæo*, p. 28 ff.

Gospels. In John¹ this is given by the return of our Lord to Galilee after His journey to the feast of Purim; in the Synoptists,² by His return to Galilee after the imprisonment of the Baptist. Each of these will require a separate treatment.

§ 1. *Our Lord's return to Galilee, after His journey to Jerusalem at the Feast of Purim.*

It is plain that the question to be here discussed, is the exact import of the ἐορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, mentioned John v. 1, on which there has been so much controversy. Now if we can only first learn the name of the feast, which the Evangelist has left nameless, we shall not only be able to determine the day (since the Jews celebrated these festivals at fixed dates with which we are perfectly well acquainted), but also the year, since, as we have seen, p. 166, the last Passover which preceded this ἐορτὴ fell on the 15th of Nisan, 781 A.U.C.

Before we proceed to furnish the reasons for believing that by the word ἐορτὴ we are to understand the feast of Purim, we will first enquire what was the precise length of the interval between this festival and the 15th of Nisan in the year 782 A.U.C. Now this year was an intercalated year, i.e. before Nisan, the first month in the Jewish Calendar, a Veadar, or a second Adar, was intercalated. This results from the fact that, as we have just shewn, the period between the autumns of 779—780 was a Sabbatical year. In accordance with the rule of the Talmud, which is founded on the nature of the case, there was no intercalation either in the Sabbatical year, or—to prevent the harvest being retarded a month—at the conclusion of the Jewish year, before the autumn of which (Tisri) the Sabbatical year came to an end. In two successive years, therefore, there was no intercalation, which rendered it all the more necessary that there should be one previous to the Nisan of the year preceding the Sabbatical year, and that of the second year after its conclusion. From this it follows that a Veadar was intercalated before the Nisan of 779,

¹ Joh. vi. 1 sqq. Cf. v. 1.

² Mar. i. 14, Matt. iv. 12, Lu. iv. 14. Cf. iii. 20 (sup. 198).

and again in 782 A.U.C. The festival of Purim,¹ which commemorated the former deliverance of the Jews by Esther and Mordecai, must (from the date of the events on which it was founded²) have been kept on the 14th or 15th of Adar.³ The question then is, in which of the two Adars was the feast of Purim kept in an intercalary year?

The ordinary answer to this question⁴ has been a very simple one: viz. that in the intercalated year the festival of Purim was kept twice, in Adar and in Veadar, one celebration having the name of "little" (קטן), the other of "great" (גדול). This answer, however, does not distinguish with sufficient care between the different stages of development of this festival. I believe that passages from the Talmud will bear out the theory of a double celebration in the second or third century after Christ; but, as we shall soon see, these very passages prove that even then it was a very modern institution, which could scarcely extend so far back as the time of Christ. It is not even once mentioned in the Book of Esther. And if the eighty-five elders are said to have so warmly opposed the appointment of the festival of Purim, simply as an unlawful innovation,⁵ we certainly can scarcely imagine that a second similar festival would have been established so soon afterwards. This preliminary enquiry, however, would be of

¹ In Hebrew the feast is called פורים, Esth. ix. 26, 29, 32, ימי הפורים, ix. 28. The name is derived, ix. 26, from פור = גורל, a lot, which is probably to be explained from the Persian (see the Lexicons). The LXX. translate פורים by *φουραι*, as an indeclinable noun, Esth. ix. 26—29, which, however, can scarcely be regarded as an ancient error for *φουραι*, since Josephus has *ἡμέρας φουραλικῶς*, Ant. xi. 6. 13, and only the Latin interpreter gives Phuræa. Its being rendered by *φουραι* (the αι corresponds to the Aramaic plural יא), seems to shew that it was referred to the Hebrew root פור, to break in pieces, and פרוצ, piece = portio, part, or lot. Its other Greek name is ἡ ἡμέρα Μαρδοχαϊκή, 2 Macc. xv. 37. That of "Haman's feast" is not known to the Jews.

² Esth. ix. 17, 18.

³ Esth. ix. 21. Cf. Joseph. Ant. xi. 6. 13.

⁴ Schickhart, *Purim sive Bacchanalia Judæorum*, Tubing. 1634, printed in the *Critici Sacri*, ed. Amstel. ii. p. 1183 ff. Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica* (4th ed.), p. 553 ff. Carpzov. *Apparat. Hist. Crit. Antiq. sac. cod. et gent. Hebr.* p. 469—471. Winer, *R. W. B. s. v.* "Purim."

⁵ Lightfoot, Joh. x. 22.

little importance for our investigation, if we chose to assume that even if there had been two Purims in our Lord's time, He would in any case have gone up to Jerusalem for the more important one.

We pass on therefore to the more difficult question, in which of the two Adars the feast of Purim was originally kept in the intercalated year. The original festival would in the time of Christ have at any rate been the more important one. It would have considerable influence on this investigation if we could determine whether the real place of the intercalary month was in Adar, or in Veadar, since it scarcely admits a doubt that Purim was originally placed not in the intercalary Adar, but in the Adar in which it was celebrated in an ordinary year. Winer,¹ Wurm,² Anger,³ and others, tell us that Veadar was the intercalary month, influenced, it would seem, principally by the names וְאָדָר = "and an Adar," i.e. one added, as they think, to the already completed year, or אָדָר שֵׁנִי = "the second Adar." In opposition to this, Ideler⁴ correctly remarks, "The actual intercalary month is not, as some erroneously believe, Veadar, but the first Adar, as is indeed clear from the circumstance that the feast of Purim, which falls in Adar, is in the intercalated year celebrated in Veadar." Ideler offers no further proofs for his opinion: but we shall immediately proceed to confirm his remark about the true position of the feast of Purim from the most ancient Talmudical writings. Besides, the view that the former Adar is the true intercalary month is supported by the fact that this month alone contains thirty days, while the Adar in ordinary years has twenty-nine.⁵ We shall now proceed to adduce from the Talmud, which is the only source for deciding the point, the passages in support of this view. The most

¹ *R. W. B.* s. v. "Jahr."

² Bengel's *Archiv.* II. p. 262 ff.

³ *De temp. in Act. Apost. ratione*, p. 32.

⁴ *Handbuch der Chronol.* I. p. 539. Cf. p. 565.

⁵ Ideler, u. s. p. 565. Cf. p. 540. *Gemar. Hierosolym.* tract מנלה, c. 1, § 7. לעולם אדר סמוך ליטן חסר, "semper Adar qui est proximus Nisan est deficiens."

ancient part of the Talmud, the Mishna, composed, according to Zunz,¹ about 200 A.D., states² that the only difference between the first and second Adars is, that in the second alone the Book of Esther (the מְגִלָּה) was read, and alms were given to the poor. Now, since the feast of Purim consisted of these two observances, it follows that the feast is here placed in the second Adar, and excluded from the first. The principal passage in the Mishna for the position of the intercalary month is as follows:³ "They testified that the year might be intercalated throughout the entire month of Adar, since it has been formerly said it only holds good till Purim (the 14th of Adar). They testified that the intercalation might be made conditionally." In explanation of this passage it is added that on one occasion the members of the Sanhedrim, in the absence of their Nasi, Gamaliel, had intercalated the year on condition that their act was sanctioned by him on his return, as was actually the case. This passage affords us several pieces of information: (1) that the place of the intercalary month was indisputably the first Adar, and that the intercalation was wont to be made up to the feast of Purim (*i.e.* before the 14th of Adar), which thus rendered it clear that the current month was to be considered an intercalary month, the feast of Purim

¹ *Die Gottesdienstlicher Vorträge der Juden*, p. 50.

² קראו את המגלה באדר הראשון ונתעברה השנה קורין אותה באדר השני אין בין אדר הראשון לאדר השני אלא קריאת המגלה ומתנות לאביונים. The words after אין בין are by no means open to misconception; they can signify nothing but "there is no difference between the first Adar and the second Adar, except the reading of the Megillah and the gifts." In connection with these words, the meaning of which is so clear, the former part of the sentence can signify nothing but "if the Megillah has been read in the first Adar" (meaning of course that no intercalary month has been inserted), "and the intercalation is then first taken in hand, yet it is read again in the second Adar," *i.e.* the reading of the Megillah is so essential for the second Adar, that even in such a case it must be repeated. It cannot be intended that the rule was the Megillah should be read in the first Adar also, for the contrary has been expressly stated immediately before by the words אין בין. Tract מנלה, cap. 1.

³ הן העידו שמעברין את השנה בכל אדר שהיו אומרים עד הפורסיחון העידו שמעברין את השנה על תנאי. Tract עריות, cap. 7, § 7.

being evidently taken as a limit, to prevent the occurrence of a double celebration of the festival; and (2) that even at that early period the inclination was shewing itself to keep a double feast of Purim, out of regard to the integrity of the calendar, i.e. to maintain the accuracy of the intercalation. For some Rabbins already maintained, on the one hand, that the intercalation might be made through the whole of Adar, i.e. with the exception of the last day of the month, which as ראש קריש belonged to the following month, i.e. to a time when the feast was already over: while, on the other hand, they declared that the intercalation might be made conditionally; and this, as the condition was not necessarily realized, must of course have led to a double celebration. We find additional confirmation of what has been here said (except that a further development of the principles expressed in the Mishna is apparent) in the Tosafta, or supplement to the Mishna, which, according to Zunz, *l. c.* was but a very little later in its composition. It is expressly said in the Tosafta ראש השנה, c. 1, § 10, that Purim was celebrated in the second Adar.¹

The passages quoted above from the Mishna, *tract מגילה*, are, on the other hand, applied somewhat differently in the Tosafta, *מגילה*, c. 1, § 3, where we find it assigned as a reason,² "For all the ordinances which are observed in the second Adar are also observed in the first Adar." The reading of the Megillah in the first Adar is therefore here assumed as the rule, while in the other passage it appears as an exception. It is however immediately added that Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Rabbi Jose, opposed the double reading of the Megillah, since he maintained as a fundamental principle that "all the ordinances which are observed in the second Adar are *not* observed in the first Adar, with the exception of the mourning and the fasting (the fast of Esther on the 13th of Adar is intended), which

¹ רבי החקן שדו יוצאין אך על אדר השני מפני הפורים "Rabi constituit ut egrederentur" (legati Synedrii) "etiam in Adar secundo propter Purim."

² שכל מצות שנחגגת באדר השני נחגגת באדר הראשון.

are observed in both." The relations of the two Adars, and the position of the intercalation, was a point on which there was a vehement controversy among the Rabbins, as we learn from the Jerusalem Gemara, *tract מנחה*, c. 1, § 7. We will only quote two passages. Rabbi Aban says (in the name of Rabbi Eliezer),¹ "In all years the intercalated year is the same as the ordinary year: as in the ordinary year the month Adar stands next to Nisan, so in the intercalated year Adar is next to Nisan." Rabbi Simeon too, the son of Gamaliel, says,² "The ordinances which are observed in the second Adar are not observed in the first Adar, with the exception of the mourning and fasting, which is the same in both." These passages are sufficient to prove that if our Lord kept the feast of Purim at Jerusalem in 782 A.U.C., He must have spent the 14th of Veadar in that city.

The question now arises whether the feast of Purim is intended by the *ἐορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*.³ It has been established,

¹ בכל שנה ושנה הקיס שנה שהיא מעוברת לשנה שאינה מעוברת מה שנה שאינה מעוברת אדר סמוך לניסן, אף ישנה שהיא מעוברת אדר סמוך לניסן.

² מצות הנדחות באדר השני אינן נדחות באדר הראשון חוץ מן הספר וזמן החקעיה שזון שזון בזה ובה.

³ John v. 1. In the exegesis of the passage, see Wolf, *Curæ*, Köcher, *Analecta*, the commentaries of Kühnöl, Lampe, and especially Lücke (ed. 3). From the earliest times there is hardly any possible feast, Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles, that has not had its supporters. More recently, however, only the feasts of Passover and Purim have been advocated. The feast of Passover has been supported by Paulus and Hengstenberg (*Christolog.* Clark's *Transl.* iii. 241—248), the latter opposed by Lücke *in loc.* On the other hand, the feast of Purim has had the greatest number of advocates. Following the example of Keppler, Petavius, and Lampe (*Apparat. Chronol.* i. c. 6, § 2), it has been supported by Hug, *Einleit. in N. T.* ii. 227 ff., Lücke, *Comment.* ed. 1 [Ellicott], Olshausen, Neander, Winer, Krabbe, Jacobi, Ebrard, etc.; but by none perhaps so fully and thoroughly as by Anger, *de Temp. in Act. Ap. rat.* p. 23—28. To these two views a third has been added, viz. that it is no longer possible to determine accurately what feast it was; among others, Lücke, ed. 3 [De Wette, Tholuck, Alford], and Schweizer, the first of whom seeks to prove with great ingenuity that the Evangelist had a purpose in not naming the feast, and the last assumes that he could not do so, because he had forgotten it. [Caspari believes that he has demonstrated that "alike in the passage and in ch. vii. 8, the Day of Atonement is that which is meant," *Chronol. and Geograph. Introduction to the Life of Christ*, p. 131, Eng. Tr.]

on exegetical and critical grounds, that the article ἡ which is found in some MSS. (vide Schulz and Lachmann) before ἐορτὴ τ. Ἰουδ. is a later correction. There is, therefore, less ground for denying that the Evangelist has not in this passage directly identified this feast with some particular feast. On this ground we must reject every hypothesis which, from its being described as ἐορτὴ τ. Ἰουδ., identifies it with some particular feast. Hug's hypothesis is one of these, who, laying an emphasis on τῶν Ἰουδαίων, adduces this, among his other arguments in favour of the feast of Purim, that there is no other to which the expression "feast of the Jews" will so readily apply: an error against which he ought to have been guarded, by the fact that this definition is employed by John in connection with other feasts.¹

To the same class also belong those who, in spite of the want of the article before ἐορτή,² understand it simply of "the feast," and refer it sometimes to one, sometimes to another of the three great feasts, either the Passover, or Pentecost, or the feast of Tabernacles,—an arbitrary assumption, which could not be expected to produce any unanimity of opinion. John, with whose mode of expression alone we have to do here, never speaks of a feast simply.³ Throughout his Gospel when he mentions the Passover, he uses the appropriate term τὸ πάσχα;⁴ nay, he does not even use ἡ ἐορτή, with the article, of this feast, except in those cases in which its special reference is made perfectly clear by what precedes.⁵ In the same manner also, we find the feast of Tabernacles under its proper title ἡ σκηνοπηγία, vii. 2: nor is it until all misconception has been thus done away, that we meet with the retrospective reference, ἡ ἐορτή.⁶ Nor again can there be any

¹ Joh. ii. 13, vi. 4, vii. 2, xi. 55.

² Tischendorf, in his Eighth Critical Edition of the New Testament, gives the article ἡ ἐορτή, which is found in the codex Sinaiticus and the codex Ephr. Sy.

³ Lücke and Anger have proved, in opposition to Paulus, that even in the synoptical Gospels we only find ἡ ἐορτή, and that too with the limitation developed above in John's Gospel, as an immediate designation of the Passover, and never ἐορτή alone.

⁴ ii. 13, 23, vi. 4, xi. 55, xii. 1, xiii. 1.

⁵ iv. 45. Cf. ii. 23, xi. 56, xii. 12.

⁶ vii. 8, 10, 11, 14.

doubt that if the Evangelist had mentioned the feast of Pentecost in his Gospel he would have specified it by name. If, then, the Jewish feast left undefined by John (v. 1) cannot be more exactly defined either from the context, or from the parallel passages of the Synoptists, its name must certainly still remain unknown to us. Thus far we must unconditionally side with the supporters of the third view mentioned above.¹ I believe, however, that we have so many data of other kinds, all tending to the same point, as to furnish us with as certain knowledge concerning this anonymous festival, as if its name had been expressly given. I shall now at once proceed to furnish the reasons which, in my opinion, force us to the conclusion that the feast of Purim, and not the Passover, or any other Jewish festival, was here intended by John.

(1) In so far as relates to the designation of the feast, as *ἑορτὴ τ.* 'I. without the article, we have already seen that the words, viewed independently, lead us neither to the Passover, nor to any other Jewish feast, nor even to that of Purim, but merely indicate a feast, without determining which, and may therefore, of themselves, refer to any one of them.² That is not the case, however, if we take into consideration the Evangelist's *usus loquendi*, and systematic mode of description, by which we must, beyond all question, be here guided. For, as we have seen above, if John had intended one of the three great festivals, he would have expressly named it. This would be peculiarly the case with the Passover, since he evidently arranges his narrative of our Lord's public ministry with reference to this festival,³ which, as we know, was celebrated in the first month of the Jewish Calendar, Nisan. Besides, he has also expressly named the feast of the dedication of the Temple:⁴ so that if that festival had been intended here, he must, in consistency with his usual practice, and its grounds, have in this place also mentioned it by name. When, therefore, we apply to

¹ See Note on page 209.

² Thus we find even Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 6. 2, cf. *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 12. 6) speaking of the Passover merely as *πάριος ἑορτή*.

³ Cf. *Intro.* p. 25.

⁴ *Joh.* x. 22.

John v. 1, the Evangelist's general rule in specifying Jewish festivals, scarcely any other of the actual feasts remains, except Purim, to which the term *ἑορτή* can be understood to refer. While, then, the *ἑορτή* is left undefined¹ in the passage itself, this is by no means the case, if we view it in connection with the entire system of reference usual in John.

(2) An evident confirmation of our view is given by the words spoken by our Lord to His disciples on his previous journey through Samaria:² *Οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἐτι τετράμηνός ἐστι καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; ἰδὼν λέγω ὑμῖν ἐπάρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ θεάσασθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λευκαὶ εἰσι πρὸς θερισμὸν ἤδη.* It is true that Lücke, De Wette, and others regard the words *ἐτι τετράμηνός ἐστι καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται* as a proverbial expression, meaning "in four months from the time of sowing the harvest is wont to arrive;" and refer to a similar proverb in Matt. xvi. 2, also introduced by *λέγετε*. In this case, however, as Lücke says, we can scarcely recognize in these words any chronological datum, since, in fact, a proverbial expression of this nature might have been spoken at any time and in any place. However, apart from the objection urged by Meyer, that at the present day we do not meet with this or any similar proverb, which may of course be merely accidental, sufficient reasons may be urged to prove the incorrectness of this view. The use of *λέγετε*, of course, proves nothing more than that the words *may* be understood in a proverbial sense, not that they *must* be so. All

¹ The certainty of this conclusion would not be damaged even though we were now unable to determine why the Evangelist did not specify this feast by name. Anger, however, seems to me exactly to have hit on the right reason, pp. 27, 28: "*Sin de Estheris festo cogitaveris neque difficultatibus illis tua laborabit sententia, et idoneam videbis causam cur evangelista propria hanc solennitatem appellatione non insigniverit. Nam cum reliqua quæ commemoravit festa vel Græcis magis cognita essent quorum in usum Joannes evangelium scripsisse videtur (ut pascha et scenopegia, quippe quæ essent ex magnis Judæorum festis), vel Græcis vocarentur nominibus (ut σκηνοπηγία et ἑγκαλνία), neutrum Estheris diebus competit, et minus notis, et vocabulo cui aures Græcæ assuetæ non erant dictis; appellatione enim insigniebatur τῶν φρουρῶν vel φουρῶν vel τῆς Μαρδοχαϊκῆς ἡμέρας.*"

² Joh. iv. 35.

therefore depends on the connection in which it occurs, which appears to me decidedly at variance with the notion of its being a proverb. I am certainly not inclined to allow much weight to the archæological difficulty which τετράμηνός in this case might involve. For since the commencement of the harvest was certainly contemporaneous with the 16th of Nisan, on which day it was legally commenced by the offering of the first sheaf,¹ the interval between seed-time and harvest might, according to the passages from the Talmud collected by Lightfoot here and Matt. xii. 1, as well as the report of modern travellers on the period of the wheat-sowing (which takes place in the month Marchesvan^a), on the average have amounted not to four, but to six or seven months. Though then I do not venture to assert that the assumption that four months must of necessity be reckoned from the close of the seed-time to the beginning of the harvest, is decidedly erroneous, it is only because, on the one hand, our knowledge of the climatology of Palestine at that period does not reach to this degree of definiteness, and on the other, because some passages in the Talmud^b state that the seed-time was protracted from Tisri to the middle of the month Chisleu. On the contrary, I must lay particular stress on the fact that the opponents of our view must assume, in support of their hitherto undemonstrated hypothesis, that the interval between seed-time and harvest in our Lord's days on the average extended to the "four months" here mentioned. Besides, in this case the proverb must have run thus, *ἔτι τετράμηνός ἐστι καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται*, "there are yet four

¹ Lev. xxiii. 10 sq., Deut. xvi. 9.

² In the Targum of Jonathan on Deut. i. 14, xxviii. 12, the early rain which was wont to follow the sowing of the winter crops is removed to Marchesvan. Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 7) says of Egypt, the climate of which cannot differ very much from that of Palestine: "In Ægypto sexto a satu mense hordeum, frumenta" (wheat) "septimo metuntur." Salomon van Til discusses the point well, *De vero temp. Sabbat. Deuteroproti*.

³ See, for example, the passage given by Lightfoot, Joh. iv. 35, from the *Bava Mezia*, fol. 106. 2, which assumes six seasons each of two months' duration, and speaks of the period from the middle of Tisri to the middle of Chisleu as the first season, or the time of sowing. Lücke, however, questions whether these divisions are sufficiently ancient to be applicable here

months and then cometh the harvest," a proverb which I am afraid would have been quite unintelligible, since there is not a single word to point out the *terminus a quo* of the τετράμηνος, the period of the seed-time. And yet this, in my opinion, was all the more necessary, since ἔτι,¹ "yet," certainly refers back to a definite *terminus a quo*, which it follows must have been the journey our Lord was then making through Samaria.² If I mistake not, if the clause were to be thus interpreted, it must, to have been intelligible, have been preceded by some such note of time as πληρωθέντός τοῦ ἄροτου, "Are you not wont to say when the seed-time is over, 'There are yet four months before the harvest comes'?" On similar grounds the note of time, ὁψίας γενομένης, is added.³ In conclusion, even if the words ἔτι τετράμηνός ἐστι, κ.τ.λ., are to be regarded as a proverb, still the ἤδη at the close of verse 35 makes it perfectly clear that the words were uttered four months before the harvest. For in that case the connection of the verse would be as follows: "You have the proverb—There are yet four months, and then, and not till then, cometh the harvest. But I say to you, Lift up your eyes and look unto the fields, that they are white *already*—not four months hence—to harvest."

If then the preceding line of reasoning is correct, we have in these words a weighty chronological datum, and our Lord's journey through Samaria, during which these words were spoken, must be placed four months before the θεισμός, or the 16th of Nisan, and therefore, if there was no intercalation before Nisan, 782 A.U.C., in the month of Chisleu. But since, as we have already seen,⁴ a second Adar was intercalated in that year, we must place it in the following month, Thebet, and after the feast of the Dedication (25th Chisleu), which affords another reason for our not identifying the ἑορτή of John v. 1, with that festival.

The next Jewish feast then to which Jesus could have

¹ Even in ancient times ἔτι caused a difficulty, and consequently, as we see from Schulze's ed. of the N. T., it was omitted in some codices.

² Cf. Anger, *l. c.* p. 25.

³ Matt. xvi.

⁴ p. 204.

gone up was Purim, which in the intercalated year of that age, fell on the 14th of Veadar, which at once gives us an *à priori* argument in favour of the probability of our conjecture, that this is the festival spoken of here. This conjecture, however, becomes certainty if we consider, on the one hand, that if the *ἑορτὴ τ. 'Ι.* is not to be understood of Purim, since our preceding investigation has shewn that it was not a Passover, it must have been a feast after the Passover; and that in this case John, according to his custom, would have previously mentioned the occurrence of a Passover, even though Jesus did not attend it;¹ and, on the other hand, that immediately after the mention of our Lord's return from this *ἑορτὴ*, the feast of the Passover is expressly mentioned as nigh at hand, *ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων.*²

(3) The remark has often been made, and with much justice, that it is highly improbable that our Lord should have been absent from Jerusalem for the space of a year and a half during the course of His public ministry as the Messiah. This, however, would have been the case if by this *ἑορτὴ*³ we were to understand a Passover, since He spent the next Passover in Galilee,⁴ and did not journey again to Jerusalem till the next ensuing feast of Tabernacles.⁵

(4) It is no less improbable that for a period of nearly an entire year, and that within the limits of his history, the Evangelist John should not have had a single word to say concerning the ministry and teaching of our Lord. Since if this *ἑορτὴ* is to be understood of a Passover, all that is recorded in the chapter must be placed during the period of that Passover, while the journey in Galilee, spoken of at the opening of ch. vi., must again be placed a short time before a Passover, v. 4. However, if we take an unprejudiced view of the matter, the connection of John's text would appear expressly to indicate that the journey through Galilee must have taken place a very short time subsequently to the occurrences at that unnamed feast. We read, vi. 1, "After these things," *μετὰ ταῦτα*,

¹ Cf. Joh. vi. 4.⁴ Joh. vi. 4.² Joh. vi. 4.⁵ Joh. vii. 2.³ Joh. v. 1.

Jesus went into Peræa, *i.e.* subsequently to the occurrence of the events recorded by John as taking place on that sabbath at the time of the feast, ch. v. 9—16.

Is it at all probable that *μετὰ ταῦτα* can include a period of a year, especially as the Evangelist expressly mentions¹ that even at the time of that feast the Jews were laying plots against the life of Jesus, a circumstance which we may well suppose would have led Him to leave the neighbourhood of Jerusalem with all the greater speed? Were the opposite view correct, we should have to admit an incongruity in the narrative to which I should not know where to find an analogous example in the whole Gospel.

(5) If we now look to the Synoptists, we see that our Lord's journey² recorded by them answers to His return to Galilee³ mentioned by John. If then we suppose that this feast was a Passover, all synchronism between John and the Synoptists will be completely destroyed. For since another Passover is mentioned, John vi. 4, this Evangelist would make two years of our Lord's ministry pass while the Synoptists give us only one. They also, it must be remarked, give us the account of the plucking of the ears of corn by the disciples some weeks after our Lord's return to Galilee,⁴ which confessedly brings us to the Passover, thus agreeing with John vi. 4.

(6) Our Lord was crucified at the Passover of 783 A.U.C., in which year the 15th of Nisan fell on a Friday. But since the Passover mentioned John ii. 13 must be placed in the year 781, only one Passover could have intervened, viz. that mentioned John vi. 4. The *ἑορτὴ τ. 'Ι.*, John v. 1, cannot therefore have been a Passover, and must be placed before the Passover, 782 A.U.C. But since this festival did not take place, according to John iv. 35, till after the "feast of Dedication," and therefore between that and the Passover, no other alternative remains but that it was the feast of Purim.

(7) Let us compare the words, John v. 9, "And on the

¹ Joh. v. 16, 18.

² Joh. vi. 1.

³ Mar. i. 14, Matt. iv. 12, Lu. iv. 14.

⁴ Mar. ii. 23 sq., Lu. vi. 1 sq., Matt. xii. 1 sq.

same day was a sabbath," with v. 1. The most natural interpretation of the passage is certainly that the unnamed festival which our Lord was then attending fell on a sabbath. Now the 15th of Nisan, 782 A.U.C., fell on Monday, the 18th of April; and as the Veadar has twenty-nine days, if we subtract thirty days from the fifteenth of Nisan, we arrive at the date of the feast of Purim in 782 A.U.C., *i.e.* the 14th of Veadar. It follows that the feast of Purim, 782 A.U.C., actually fell on Saturday, March 19th. No other feast fell on a Saturday during the whole of this year. Conversely, then, the day given by St. John as that of the feast of Purim is again a convincing proof that we have placed it correctly in the year 782. Lamy¹ also has already adopted the same line of argument deduced from the day on which the feast of Purim was held. He has, however, fallen into an error as to the year, for he placed his Purim three years later, *i.e.* 785 A.U.C. = 32 A.D., when certainly the 15th of Nisan fell again on a Monday, and therefore Purim on a sabbath. Hengstenberg, however, among the other arguments against the feast named being that of Purim, adduces this, that Purim never could fall on a sabbath. In proof of this he appeals to Reland.² However, in making this assertion, he has not made a critical distinction between earlier and later times. Certainly, in the existing Jewish calendar of festivals, the 14th of Adar, and in the intercalated year the 14th of Veadar, can never fall on a Saturday; nor can the 15th of Nisan (the two being in close connection) ever fall on a Monday.³ By a similar change in the calendar, the 15th of Nisan can no longer fall on a Friday, though our Lord was crucified on that day, which was then a Friday. The period of transition which the Mishna presents is very remarkable. At the time it was written the 14th of Adar could still be a Saturday,⁴ but in that case the reading of the Megillah was deferred to another day.⁵ At last, when a new calendar was fixed,

¹ *Commentar. in Harmon. Quat. Evang.* p. 271.

² *Antiq. Sacr.* iv. 9, and Schickard, *de festo Purim*.

³ See Ideler's *Handbuch*, i. p. 561. ⁴ *Tract בנלה*, c. 1, § 5, 6.

⁵ On this point the views of the different schools of the Rabbis may be consulted, *Gemar. Hierosolym.* c. 1.

the 14th of Adar was so placed that it never could fall on a sabbath.

It can hardly, we think, be doubted, after an examination of the foregoing reasons, that the anonymous festival¹ was the feast of Purim, on the 14th of Veadar, 782 A.U.C. Before we quit the subject, however, let us advert to some objections which we have not yet noticed. The most powerful argument in favour of Hengstenberg's view, that this festival was a Passover, for which he has the authority of several Fathers, particularly Theodoret, is evidently the prophecy Dan. ix. 27. For with Hävernicks and others, he holds that the half week of years, or three years and a half, mentioned there, must be understood of our Lord's public ministry during that period. But as we think we have already demonstrated the erroneousness of his conclusion, we have also, in another place,² endeavoured to shew the erroneousness of Hengstenberg's premisses, since these three years and a half can hardly refer to the ministry of Jesus as the Messiah, but to the reign of the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes.

No other objection now remains to be noticed but that which certainly is often urged, viz. that our Lord would have been far more likely to have gone up to Jerusalem to one of the three great feasts than to that of Purim, which was then comparatively obscure, and the celebration of which did not at all require His presence at Jerusalem. Now such an argument might certainly be of weight in cases where the choice between an indefinite number of feasts was still open, and there was nothing whatsoever to specify the feast to be selected. But having, as we think, satisfactorily proved that our Lord did really go up to the feast of Purim, we must certainly admit that He had reasons for so doing. We have here another proof of the caution which ought to be exercised in determining the motives which may be supposed to have actuated our Lord in His various actions, when the text of the Gospels gives us no information on the point; and that the expositor, when passing judgment on what is authentic, must

¹ Joh. v. 1.

² *Zur Auslegung u. Kritik d. Apocalypst. Litterat.* pp. 75—86.

not venture to take into account, as established facts, those motives which have been entirely called into existence by himself. I will not, however, deny that the supporters of Purim have occasionally shewn themselves over-zealous in endeavouring to prove, as I think uncritically, that even at that time it was a festival held in high estimation by the Jews. On the contrary, the Evangelist himself, by leaving it without a name, has indicated that he regarded it as comparatively obscure. Besides, the "feast of the Dedication"¹ may serve as an analogous example to establish the fact that our Lord attended festivals which it was not necessary should be kept in Jerusalem.

If then we enter seriously into the enquiry for what reasons our Lord may have been led to attend this celebration of Purim, we shall find several answers, all probable enough. We may, for instance, assume that His reason for taking the journey did not lie so much in the celebration of the feast itself, but rather in His intention of spending a longer time, and particularly the season of the Passover, which would take place four weeks afterwards, in Judea and Jerusalem. In this case His departure before the Passover would have been forced upon Him, against His will. Such is the view held by Anger, Neander; and Krabbe. Its historical foundation lies in the express statement of the Evangelist² that the Jews, in consequence of what took place at the feast of Purim, sought to kill Jesus. We must, however, certainly connect with this view the supposition that one object of His journey to Jerusalem was to keep the feast of Purim there: otherwise, why did He go up at this particular time? The word ἀνέβη³ also expressly connects His journey with the feast mentioned in the same verse. What then was the feast of Purim? It was properly a festival of the Jewish nationality, dedicated to the commemoration of an extraordinary deliverance of the nation from the hands of the heathen, which had taken place no very long time previously, from which arose the merriment which then prevailed, and not unfrequently amounted almost to Bacchanalian revelry. The climax of this jubilee

¹ Joh. x. 22.² Joh. v. 16, 18.³ Joh. v. 1.

was reached above all in Jerusalem, the true mother of the Jewish national life. Our Lord then, by keeping this feast in Jerusalem, made an open acknowledgment before the eyes of all that He desired to become a Saviour even of the Jewish nationality, and that He neither scorned nor contemned it. Besides, at this feast eating and drinking went on, the most universal joy prevailed. Could it be, then, that¹ by going up to this feast, in the same way as previously by His presence at the marriage at Cana, which is also recorded by the same Evangelist, our Lord desired to give a practical proof of His approbation of mirth, as opposed to any high esteem for asceticism, as recommended by the self-righteous Pharisees,² and practised by John, the preacher of repentance?³ Purim also was a festival of the poor,⁴ when they received gifts, and were feasted in order that they too might share in the joy; while we may gather, not from one or two isolated passages, but from His whole life, that our Lord was a father and a friend to the poor and needy.

We think that we have now shewn that the feast of Purim combined in itself a sufficient number of spiritual marks to lead our Lord, as the Messiah, to go up to Jerusalem for its celebration. Which of them all, however, may have been the original actuating motive, or whether all combined, we shall leave to the reader's judgment, especially as Scripture itself is silent on the point.

The feast of Purim, as we have seen, fell in 782 A.U.C. on a Saturday,⁵ being the 19th of March. To avoid the plots of the Jews, it is probable that our Lord left Jerusalem immediately after the feast.⁶ His concluding words to the Jews⁷ sound very like the parting words of One who for the first time gives up His hope of a favourable hearing. According to the Synoptists, of whom we shall speak hereafter, we find Jesus on the next sabbath in the synagogue at Nazareth.

¹ Cf. Hug.

² Matt. vi. 16—19, ix. 14—17, Lu. xviii. 12.

³ Matt. iii. 4, ix. 14, 17, xi. 18, 19, parall.

⁴ Esth. ix. 22.

⁵ Joh. v. 9—16.

⁶ vv. 16, 18.

⁷ vv. 42—47.

§ 2. *The Return of our Lord after the Imprisonment of John the Baptist.*

As our Lord's return to Galilee¹ in the Synoptists runs parallel with His journey to Galilee² in John, and the former is placed in immediate connection with the imprisonment of the Baptist,³ this must be placed in the year 782 A.U.C. = 29 A.D., and about the feast of Purim, which happened that year on the 19th of March. This precise date results at once from our chronological arrangement. Does it, however, admit of any other kind of proof? I certainly think it does, and of course every fresh evidence is a fresh ground of the correctness of our arrangement.

(1) St. John gives us to understand⁴ that the Baptist was still at liberty and fulfilling his ministry when Jesus set out for Galilee (which He did about four months before the 16th of Nisan = 18th of April, i.e. at the close of 781, or the beginning of 782 A.U.C.⁵), and therefore certainly he was so at an earlier period. Consequently the fourth Gospel evidently harmonizes with the date furnished by

¹ Mar. i. 14, Matt. iv. 12, Lu. iv. 14.

² Joh. vi. 1 sq.

³ In Mark by the clause *μετὰ τὸ παραδοθῆναι τὸν Ἰωάνν.*, in Matthew by the almost identical clause *ἀκούσας ὅτι Ἰωάνν. παρέδόθη*. Lamy's hypothesis of a double imprisonment of the Baptist, first by the great Sanhedrim, and thus after his release by Herod Antipas, is singular. For the first imprisonment he refers to Matt. iv. 12, Mar. i. 14, and introduces it before the marriage at Cana, Joh. ii. 1, as a consequence of the enquiry of the Sanhedrim, Joh. i. 19 ff. The second imprisonment is pointed out in Matt. xiv. 3—11, Mar. vi. 17—28. This important mistake of Lamy's has its influence on his interpretations of the participial clause *ἀκούσας, κ.τ.λ.*, Matt. iv. 12. For he makes its reference *causal*, not as in Mar. i. 14 *temporal*, so that the account of the imprisonment of the Baptist appears as the reason for Christ's return to Galilee, and the hypothesis becomes very natural that this imprisonment did not proceed from Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee, for our Lord would then have run right into his hands. Lamy's hypothesis has been also fully refuted by Sal. van Til in his *Dissertat. de Joh. Bapt. incarceration fictitia, Herodiana vincula antecedente*, *Opp. Analyt.* II. p. 38 ff., as well as by Hottinger, *Joh. Bapt. historia chronologica, Dissert. III.*, in his *πέντας* Dissertat. Biblico-chronolog. p. 210 ff.

⁴ Joh. iv. 1.

⁵ c. iv. 35.

the Synoptist, viz. that the imprisonment of the Baptist cannot have taken place at earliest before January, 782 A.U.C. It must, however, according to John, have occurred very soon afterwards, and nothing in his Gospel hinders us from supposing it to have occurred about the time of the feast of Purim next following. For, from the time of our Lord's journey to this feast, he not only tells us nothing of any ministerial work of the Baptist, which he previously delineates with so much pleasure, but he even speaks of him shortly afterwards as already dead,¹ "All that John said of this man *was* true."

(2) The Synoptists, after having give the Baptist's imprisonment as a chronological datum,² state that the opening days of Nisan fell a few weeks afterwards,³ which certainly brings us to the period of the feast of Purim.

(3) Luke, who has besides defined the year of the Baptist's imprisonment by several other precise notes of time,⁴ places it in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, viz. Aug. 19, 781—Aug. 19, 782.⁵ Now, since the feast of Purim which our Lord attended fell on March 19th, 782 A.U.C., this date harmonizes most remarkably with those furnished both by the Synoptists and by John.

(4) Once more, Luke furnishes a remarkable confirmation of the view here advanced in the expression *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*,⁶ an examination of which allows us, I believe, to fix the time when the disciples plucked the ears of corn with no small degree of accuracy. This "second sabbath after the first" has, it is true, been the subject of so many and such various interpretations, that one might almost question the possibility of fixing its place in the Jewish ecclesiastical year. I should deem it a thankless task⁷ to enumerate all the various and not

¹ Joh. x. 41.

² Matt. iv. 12, Mar. i. 14, Lu. iv. 14

³ Lu. vi. 1, Mar. ii. 23, Matt. xii. 1.

⁴ Lu. iii. 1. Cf. v. 20. Cf. p. 182.

⁵ Cf. p. 166.

⁶ c. vi. 1. Several MSS. omit *δευτερόπρωτον*, and thus prove themselves, as is now almost universally admitted, defective in this very point. The omission may have arisen either from a mistaken principle of harmonizing Luke with Matthew and Mark, who do not give the difficult expression, or from exegetical incapacity.

⁷ For the history of the exegesis of this word, see Wolf, *Curæ in loc.* Köcher, *Analect. in loc.* Salomon v. Til, *Dissert. de Sabbat. Deuteroprot.*

unfrequently marvellous views that have been taken of it. I shall however give the most important, with the view of comparing them with that which I deem the correct one, and then leave the decision to the reader.

The difficulty of ascertaining the meaning of *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον* is much increased by the fact that this is the only place in which it is found; and we must therefore pay proportionably greater attention to the connection in which it occurs. This, perhaps, has not as yet been sufficiently done. Looking at the context, we find that the disciples "plucked ears of corn" to eat, and that they were already ripe, for they were able to "rub" them "in their hands" with the view of getting at the grain they contained.¹ This note of time leads us so decidedly to the period of Nisan, that almost all expositors place this "second sabbath after the first" at earliest at the end of Adar, the month which immediately preceded Nisan, and at latest in Ijar,² the month next after Nisan. By far the majority, however, place it in Nisan itself. We desire, however, to arrive at a more precise date. If then we enquire whether this sabbath fell before or after the Passover, it appears to be at present unanimously agreed to place it after, a view which, if I am not mistaken, has been adopted on the authority of Scaliger. For before his time opinions were still very much divided, and Scaliger himself bitterly complained that nobody would listen to what he said. In support of this view, the following plausible arguments have been adduced by Van Til, Reland,³ and others. It is expressly forbidden, Lev. xxiii. 14, to eat *בִּקְלָיִם*, i.e. as the Rabbins interpret it, "*Spicam virentem*," before the 16th of Nisan. Now since the Gospels indicate that the

vero et justo tempore, *Opp. Analyt.* Tom. iii. Lampe, *Comment. Evangel. Joan.* ii. p. 5. Paulus, *Comment. u. Ezeg. Handb. in loc.* Lübkert, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1835, iii. p. 664 sq. Winer, *R. W. B. Sabbath.* Hitzig, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, p. 19 sq.

¹ This is expressly observed by Luke, vi. 1, in the words *ψάχοντες τὰς χεροί.*

² The Jesuit Maldonatus placed it still later, fancying strangely enough that the corn did not ripen much earlier in Palestine than here. Van Til opposes his view, *u. s.* p. 76 sq.

³ *Antiq. Sacr.* (Ed. 4), p. 258 sq.

objections of the Pharisees were based, not on the plucking the ears simply, but on its being done on a sabbath, it is evident, they say, that it must be fixed after the 16th of Nisan. The meaning of this *לֶחֶם*, however, is very far from certain. It is very evident from 2 Kings iv. 42, that it does not necessarily mean standing corn. Besides, there would be an important difference between something forbidden for ordinary use, and something exceptionally permitted for satisfying hunger, in which category the permission to pluck the ears of corn must certainly be placed. Lightfoot remarks with perfect correctness,¹ "De ipsa re non litigant quia licita, sed de re patrata sabbato," since in Deut. xxiii. 26, the plucking the ears of corn was permitted without any restriction. While then there is nothing in the text of the Evangelists to render it necessary that we should place this *σάββατ. δευτερόπρ.* after the Passover, it follows from a simple synoptical combination that it must have been before it. A short time afterwards, according to the Synoptists, the feeding of the five thousand occurred.² That this was so we may determine with the help of the parallel passage,³ according to which it occurred a short time before the Passover,⁴ unless indeed we are disposed to adopt the view of Paulus, that *ἐγγύς*⁵ is to be understood of the period immediately following the Passover; an expedient which, however, has been already thoroughly refuted by Lücke on John v. 1. It follows then that the sabbath in question, which occurred a little earlier, must at all events be placed before the Passover, and after Purim, and thus a sentence of condemnation is passed upon all those views which place this sabbath after the Passover. As, however, these are still very prevalent, and with the view of supporting the synoptical combination given above, I propose to examine the chief of them in detail, for the purpose of shewing that even when viewed independently they are subject to very serious objections.

¹ Matt. xii. 2.

² Lu. ix. 10—17, Mar. vi. 30—44, Matt. xiv. 13—21.

³ John vi. 1—15.

⁴ John vi. 4, *Ἦν δὲ ἐγγύς τὸ πάσχα, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

⁵ Ibid.

Paulus, with whom Olshausen concurs, interprets it of a sabbath *first in relation to a second*, i.e. the first of two successive sabbaths.¹ In a mere verbal point of view the explanation of Theophylact, and other Fathers, which is in other respects similar, is to be preferred. They understand by this "second sabbath after the first" an actual *second* sabbath, i.e. προηγησαμένης ἄλλης ἑορτῆς καὶ σαββάτου. But they did not give proper weight to the fact that this second sabbath is also to be regarded as "a second first sabbath." Besides, it is not only unproved but even *per se* thoroughly improbable, that a phenomenon of such frequent occurrence as the meeting of two sabbaths, in the above-mentioned sense, should have received a special name in the Jewish Calendar. Olshausen appears to feel this, in his hypothesis that the predicate δευτερόπρωτον may have been coined by Luke. The term, however, in its short enigmatical form, evidently sounds like a *terminus technicus*. For the accidental circumstance that this is the only place in which this word is preserved can prove nothing against this view, and if Olshausen's view were correct, the less reason Luke had for supposing that the narrative would lead his readers to this meaning, the more clearly would he have expressed it. The objections we had to urge against the view of Theophylact and others, on philological grounds, have been acutely met by Hitzig,² in the latest interpretation of the σαββ. δευτερόπρ. He understands it of the 15th of Nisan, which, at any rate according to the erroneous interpretation of the Jews prevailing in our Lord's days, is actually, as Hitzig supposes, designated as a sabbath in Lev. xxiii. 11. Assuming then that the 14th of Nisan, from the first as well as in our Lord's days, regularly fell on a Saturday, he maintains that there were two first sabbaths immediately succeeding one another, with which the feast of the Passover at that time regularly commenced, of which the *second first*, i.e. the 15th of Nisan, is here intended. His own words, pp. 24, 25, are as follows:

¹ Chrysostom took this view, Hom. xl. in Matt. : ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς φησιν ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ· τί δέ ἐστι δευτερόπρωτον; ὅταν διπλῇ ἡ ἀργία ᾖ, καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἑτέρας ἑορτῆς διαδεχομένης· σάββατον γὰρ ἐκάστην ἀργίαν καλοῦσιν.

² u. s. p. 19 sq.

"This day (the 15th of Nisan) may however derive its name from the fact that coming immediately after the *πρῶτον σάββατον* of the feast, it was itself, according to ordinary reckoning, a *πρῶτον σάββατον*. We have thus, in contradistinction to one *last*, two *first* sabbaths, the second of which, just as in our own German usage, is styled the 'second first.' " It is a pity that an exposition displaying so much philological acuteness should be destitute of historical foundation, for its essential premiss is, that the 15th of Nisan fell regularly on a Saturday, which however was not the case, either in our Lord's days¹ or at an earlier period. On the other hand, the merit, and that no slight one, is due to Hitzig of having been the first to point out the true philological import of this enigmatical expression.

On the other hand, scholars of no mean celebrity, Van Til, Wetstein, and others, understand this expression of *the first sabbath of the second month*, i.e. Ijar. But where does the idea of the second *month* spring from? It is true that in Hebrew it may be said, leaving out the word for *month*, בַּשַּׁבָּת הָרִאשׁוֹן לַחֹדֶשׁ, "on the first sabbath of the second—sc. month." But we cannot see how in the Greek translation a second first *sabbath* can be derived from this, for in that expression the predicate of the month, δεύτερος, would be blended with that of the sabbath, πρῶτος.

We come then, in conclusion, to the view proposed by Scaliger,² which, as far as regards its historic basis, unquestionably deserves to be preferred to all we have hitherto mentioned. And this is certainly the reason which has obtained for it the greatest recognition from modern writers, not, as Hitzig asserts, "the *haut goût* which relishes a good downright improbability almost as much as a well-seasoned falsehood." Its philological element, however, is very weak; and yet not more so than that of all the views hitherto mentioned, with the exception of that of Hitzig, of which however the historical basis, again, is proportionably more insecure. The keen

¹ For detailed information on this point, vide the history of the last Passover

² *De emendat. tempor.* p. 557. *Canon. Isagog.* I. 3. p. 225.

eye of Scaliger perceived that since the sabbath is numbered by its predicate, δευτερόπρωτον, the numbering must commence from a certain *terminus*, from which it may be proved that the Jews were accustomed to reckon in other cases. Now since he makes it fall after the Passover, he discovered such a *terminus a quo* in the second day of the Paschal Feast, i.e. the 16th of Nisan (מִקְרָא הַשֵּׁנִי), from which the Jews were commanded to reckon the seven weeks to Pentecost.¹ This day is called in the Talmud חֲמִישִׁי, from the sheaf of first-fruits which, according to Lev. xxiii. 10, was wont to be then offered, and he tells us that the period intervening between this day and Pentecost was very usually designated, "the first day in Omer," "the second day in Omer," etc. This is the essential foundation of Scaliger's combination; starting from which he interpreted σάββ. δευτερόπ. as the *first sabbath after the second day of the Passover, or the first sabbath in Omer*. He has endeavoured to establish his view, philologically, in the following manner: "Prima hebdomas, quæ putatur ab oblatione Omer dicitur εβδομὰς² δευτερόπρωτος, secunda δευτεροδέυτερος, et sic deinceps." And immediately afterwards he proceeds, "Eodem modo μία δευτερόπρωτος est feria Solis prima post festum Paschatis, τετράς δευτερόπρωτος feria Mercurii post δευτέραν Paschatis. Quare et σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον est primum Sabbatum, quod proxime τὴν δευτέραν τοῦ Πάσχα sequutum est." The word then, according to his view, means "the Saturday in the second first week, i.e. the first week in Omer." The abbreviated form of the expression, σάββ. δευτερόπ. for σάββατον τῆς εβδομάδος δευτεροπρώτου might pass without objection: indeed, Horace's "hodie tricesima sabbata"³ might be appealed to in support of it, if this were to be understood of the sabbath of the thirtieth day, though it is certainly the thirtieth sabbath which is there meant. But the supposition that εβδομὰς δευτερόπρωτος is identical with

¹ Lev. xxiii. 15.

² This interpretation is evidently based on the fundamental passage of the Pentateuch, in which certainly seven *weeks* and not seven *sabbaths* are reckoned from the 16th of Nisan.

³ Sat. I. ix. 69.

ἐβδομὰς πρώτη τῆς δευτέρας, or even with ἐβδ. πρώτη τῆς δευτέρας τῶν ἀλύμων, on verbal grounds I consider absurd. Besides, Scaliger's hypothesis, which, as far as regards its historical side, must be considered as exceedingly ingenious, stands in closest connection with his entire chronological system, and cannot be duly estimated except as forming a part of it. Scaliger assumes that five Passovers¹ really occurred during our Lord's ministry, and that His crucifixion did not take place till the day before the fifth Passover after His public ministry commenced. The modifications which Scaliger's hypothesis has undergone in process of time are, generally speaking, no improvements to it. As, for instance, when it has been said that the σάββ. δευτερόπρ. was "the first sabbath counted from the 16th of Nisan, which, reckoning from the 15th of Nisan, the Festal Sabbath, is rather the second;" a theory in which not only the force of one predicate, as Hitzig remarks, is destroyed by the other, but Scaliger's historical basis is entirely deserted, since the period of Omer began from the 16th, and not from the 15th of Nisan. I may hope then that the statement of our synopsis, which demanded a place for this "second sabbath after the first" a short time before the feast of the Passover, will not have been weakened by the foregoing survey of the antagonistic opinions.

We now come to the interpretation, which, although at the present day almost entirely unnoticed, appears, in my judgment, the best and simplest, not only in this class, but generally of all that have been proposed: viz. that by σάββ. δευτερόπρ. is signified the first sabbath in the year, i.e. in the month Nisan. This view is adopted by Capellus, and Rhenferd, and after them by Lampe, in his *Commentary on St. John*.² This I deem³ the correct view, though not

¹ The first Passover, Joh. ii. 13; the second, Joh. v. 1; the third, before Lu. vi. 1, parall.; the fourth, Joh. vi. 4; the fifth, that of the Passion.

² Torn. ii. p. 5.

³ The only other interpreter of this class I shall name is Bengel, *Ordo temp.* pp. 222 sqq. He considers the second-first sabbath to have been the first of two successive sabbaths, and identifies it with the last day of Veadar, which in that year (29 A.D.) fell upon a Saturday (?).

in the acceptance, and on the basis in which it has hitherto been advanced. For its supporters had recourse to the double commencement of the year; in the Autumn, i.e. in Tisri, for the *civil* year; in Spring, i.e. in Nisan, for the *ecclesiastical* year. "There were," they say, "two first sabbaths in the same year, one in Tisri, and the other in Nisan; the latter of which, to distinguish it from the other, was called the second-first sabbath, or *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*." The following objections may be urged to this interpretation. At the outset it appears strange that these two sabbaths should be called "first" with a totally different reference; that in Tisri, in relation to the commencement of the civil year; that in Nisan, in relation to that of the ecclesiastical year, and yet that they should be distinguished from one another, as if they belonged to the same class, as a "first" and a "second." There is however another reason why this view appears untenable, viz. that the first sabbath in Nisan would thus be unduly cast into the shade in comparison with that in Tisri, although it was the most sacred sabbath of the year.¹ Besides, in a passage from the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, found in the *Stromata* of Clemens Alexandrinus,² of early date and of the greatest importance in determining the arrangement and nomenclature of the Jewish feasts,³ we find the

Besides, he argues in this place, as he does generally, like the older chronologists, from the Parshioth and Haphtharoth, which are supposed to have been read on the particular sabbaths; while the present distribution of Parshioth and Haphtharoth is of later date (Zunz, *l.c.* pp. 3 ff.); and we have at any rate no certain knowledge of their form in the time of our Lord.

¹ On this account it alone bore the name of *שַׁבָּת הַבְּרִיָּה*, which the Sabbath never otherwise received, except when it coincided with a festival: v. Carpzov. *Apparat. Historico-critic.* p. 384.

² vi. 5, p. 760.

³ Cf. Gal. iv. 10, *ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς*, and Col. ii. 16, *ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς ἢ νεομηνίας ἢ σαββάτων*. In the first passage *καιροὺς* denotes the seasons of the year—there is an evident gradation, day, month, season, year—and points to the very anxious care they paid to the correct determination of the Tekuphoth of Nisan, since on the 16th of that month the wave-sheaf had to be offered. For this an acquaintance with the *סוד עֲבוֹר*, "the secret of the intercalation" (before Nisan) was requisite. The word *ἐνιαυτοὺς*, however, refers to the sabbatical year.

expression *σάββατον τὸ πρῶτον*, not *δευτερόπρωτον*, for the first sabbath in Nisan. The passage is as follows: *Μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μόνον οἰόμενοι τὸν θεὸν γινώσκειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ,¹ καὶ ἂν μὴ σελήνῃ φάνῃ, σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὐδὲ νεομηνίαν ἄγουσιν οὔτε ἄζυμα οὔτε ἑορτὴν οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν.* The last sentence may be thus rendered: "And if the moon does not shine, they do not celebrate the so-called first sabbath, nor do they then celebrate the new moon, neither the Passover, nor a feast,² nor the day of expiation." The sabbaths as a class are placed in contradistinction to the new moons and feasts, as is also indicated by the double use of the word *ἄγουσι*, and among them one only is mentioned as specially distinguished, the so-called first sabbath,³ because this was the only one which it was necessary to celebrate when the moon was shining. That the first sabbath of Nisan, not of Tisri, is intended, follows partly from the fact that this was the only sabbath of the year which was regarded as

¹ There is certainly a reference here to Col. i. 16, 18.

² We must not understand *ἑορτή* here as meaning any particular festival exclusively, neither Pentecost (Bengel), nor the Feast of Tabernacles (Hitzig)—not the latter, since the chronological arrangement of the words would require *μεγάλη ἡμέρα* to be placed before *ἑορτήν*—but as referring to both these feasts, and probably including those of Purim and the Dedication, which would otherwise have been entirely passed over. For at least the last two days of the eight days' festival of the dedication fell at the beginning of the month of Thebet, and therefore at the full moon. Nor can it be regarded as a valid argument against this view, that immediately afterwards a particular feast, *μεγάλη ἡμέρα*, is mentioned, since it usually appears under this name, along with the class of special festivals, from which it was distinguished as a more strictly-observed day of humiliation. Cf. Reland, *Antiqq.* pp. 246 sqq.

³ Credner, *Beitrag. z. Einleit. ins N.T.* i. 357, is of opinion that by *σάββ. πρῶτ.* all sabbaths that occurred at the time when the moon was shining were intended—in the text, however only one particular one is spoken of—and that all these were regarded as specially holy, as *πρῶτα*, from their excellence; this, however, is another unproved hypothesis. And yet on these premisses he founds the following new interpretation of *σάββ. δευτερ.* (in which, however, no attention is paid to the force of *πρῶτον* in composition), "A sabbath occurring when there was no moonlight, and on that very account was esteemed less holy." Against this view see De Wette on *Luke* vi. 1.

especially holy,¹ partly because of the three festivals arranged chronologically *ἄζυμα* stands first; and therefore the festival of the month Nisan is regarded as the commencement of the year, so that the first sabbath in the year must be identical with the first sabbath of that month.

Apart altogether however from what has already been adduced, the following arguments would seem to prove the correctness of the interpretation which explains the *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον* of the first sabbath in Nisan. The use of the adjective *δευτερόπρωτον* proves that the day is to be reckoned from some definite point. Just such a point is given by the commencement of the year, because that is an *absolute* starting-point, while that of Scaliger, for example, is only *relative*, and without express mention is more difficult of comprehension. Besides, the fact that this sabbath had received a special appellation² points to it as one of special sanctity, and therefore as the first sabbath in Nisan, and this apart altogether from the unmistakable reference which the word *δευτερόπρωτον*, even from its sound, has to *πρῶτον*. On these grounds we decide that the interpretation of *σάββ. δευτερόπρ.*, given by the above-named writers, as the first sabbath in Nisan, points out the real meaning of the expression with perfect correctness, even though they have been unable to explain the full force of *δευτερον* in the compound word; and further, that we must adopt and maintain this interpretation, even if we were no longer able to ascertain why the *σάββατον πρῶτον* had, at that time, become a *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*. This, however, I hope to shew to be quite possible.

¹ See last page.

² It is possible that by Horace's much-controverted "*tricesima sabbata*," *Sat.* i. ix. 69, the sabbath of greatest sanctity in Nisan may be intended. For if we reckon from Tisri, the first month of the civil year, we obtain for the months Tisri, Marchesvan, Kisleu, Thebet, Shebet, and Adar, six times four sabbaths, and for the extra days in the separate months one sabbath more, *i.e.* twenty-five sabbaths altogether. Now, if we suppose that the four feast-days in Tisri, the new moon, the day of atonement, the first and last days of the Feast of Tabernacles, which, as we have seen, are described as sabbaths in the fundamental passage of the O. T. were included, or that any intercalary month was added, the *thirtieth sabbath* would exactly correspond to the first sabbath in Nisan.

Hitzig remarks,¹ and that with perfect correctness on philological grounds, that "a 'second first' sabbath of this nature would require that several sabbaths were ordinarily spoken of as 'first sabbaths.' This is the first point to be proved." Let us then try to prove it. Now the very fact of the existence, at the time of our Lord, of the seventh, or sabbatical year, which must from the nature of the case have ceased afterwards, as the Jews were no longer masters of Palestine, proves beyond all question that in the ordinary life of that age each seven years was gathered up into a week of years, exactly as each seven days was gathered up into a week of days. This proposition is expressly proved by the well-known prophecy in Daniel of the seventy weeks of years,² as well as by the Book of Enoch, the fourth Book of Ezra, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, which, if not actually belonging to our Lord's age, must be placed very little later,³ in which the reckoning is by "great weeks," jubilees, and sabbatical, or hebdomadal years, and the writings of the Talmud, where the calculation by sabbatical years recurs perpetually. We read "in the first, second, third, etc., year," meaning "in the first, second, third, etc., year of the cycle of seven years." This mode of dating was so familiar, that we find it not merely in purely Jewish writings like the Talmud, but it even passed over into the decrees of the Roman Emperors, as is evident for our Lord's days from the decree of Julius Cæsar,⁴ explained above.⁵ In the seven years of the cycle there were on the whole seven first sabbaths, which would be distinguished according to their sequence as "first-first sabbath," or rather "first sabbath" simply, "second-first sabbath," "third-first sabbath," etc.; and so naturally enough the names arose *σάββατον πρωτόπρωτον*, or more probably *πρῶτον*, *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*, *τριτόπρωτον*, etc. This interpretation of *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*, if I am not mistaken, solves the necessary problem, on which the attempts hitherto made have been wrecked, inasmuch as resting on an

¹ I. c. p. 21.

² Dan. ix. 24 sq.

³ See my *Beitrag. zur Apocalypst. Litterat.* p. 203 sq.

⁴ Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10. 6.

⁵ pp. 92, 93.

historical basis, it, on the one hand, at once furnishes us with a definite idea, and on the other, makes *δεύτερον* merely a closer definition of *πρῶτον*, while, according to the ordinary interpretations, one predicate destroys the other, *i.e.* renders it impossible. Nor ought it to be urged against the correctness of this view, that we cannot adduce any other exactly corresponding example to establish this use of the *σάββ. δευτερόπρ.*, for every explanation might be attacked on the same ground, since *σάββ. δευτερόπρ.* is confessedly a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. Some consciousness of the meaning here assumed is perhaps indicated by the otherwise meaningless reading given by Schulz from Ambrose and some cursive MSS., *ἐν δευτέρῳ πρῶτῳ σάββ.*, "on a second first sabbath," since according to this the "first sabbaths" seem to have been really numbered: though, perhaps, the reading may have been no more than an ill-understood philological elucidation of the expression.

It would serve to establish the correctness of our interpretation if we could shew that the first sabbath of the year, in which, according to our preceding investigations, the narrative of Luke must be placed, *i.e.* 782 A.U.C., was actually a *σάββ. δευτερόπρ.* in the above sense. And happily this can be done: we have shewn¹ that the sabbatical year immediately preceding this fell between the Autumn of 779—780 A.U.C., consequently the first sabbath of the second² year of the next seven-year cycle fell in Nisan, 782 A.U.C. Conversely, we are entitled to say, that since by the "second-first sabbath" only the first sabbath of 782 A.U.C. can be intended,—for we are equally precluded from thinking of the preceding second-first sabbath, in 775, or that immediately following, in 789 A.U.C.,—it follows that, according to Luke, the plucking of the ears of corn occurred in Nisan, 782 A.U.C., and con-

¹ p. 203.

² Considering the evident analogy between the week of years and the week of days, the second year of the cycle, together with the fifth and seventh, would have had a special degree of sanctity attached to them; *i.e.* provided we could assume that the directions of the Talmud for the celebration of the second, fifth, and seventh days of the week by synagogue meetings, were observed in Palestine as early as our Lord's days.

sequently the imprisonment of the Baptist, which he places a little earlier, happened in the same year.

There are still two arguments in favour of the correctness of our interpretation of *σάββ. δευτερόπρ.*, as the first sabbath in Nisan, and these, we must observe, of so peculiar a nature as at the same time to guarantee the correctness of the date, 782 A.U.C. (1) If the "second-first" sabbath is the first sabbath of the year 782 A.U.C., since the 15th of Nisan fell that year on Monday, April 18th, it would correspond to the 6th of Nisan of the Jewish, or April 9th of the Julian calendar. Exactly three weeks would then intervene between Purim, the 14th of Veadar, March 19th, and the sabbath in question. And we actually find that Luke mentions only two sabbaths, ch. iv. 16, 31, neither more nor less, between ch. iv. 14, where he speaks of our Lord's return from the Feast of Purim, and this *σάββ. δευτερόπρ.* in ch. vi. 1. Our Lord must therefore have set out for Nazareth, which was about three days' journey off, immediately after the Feast of Purim, so that he could have arrived there at latest by the succeeding sabbath;¹ which agrees admirably with the independent conclusion from John's Gospel.² (2) All three Synoptists annex the healing of the man with the withered hand to the narrative of the plucking of the ears of corn on the sabbath. The chronological connection of the two narratives is given in Matthew, ch. xii. 9, by the participial clause *μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν*, in Mark, ch. iii. 1, by *πάλιν*, in Luke, ch. vi. 6, by *ἐν ἐτέρῳ σαββάτῳ*. Now, if all three are regarded as correct, the healing in question must have occurred on "another sabbath," and that of such a nature that the day before it was the sabbath when the ears of corn were plucked, i.e. the first sabbath of Nisan. Now, in 782 A.U.C. it was actually the case that a festival recurred on the day immediately following the "first sabbath." For, according to the express declaration of Ezekiel,³ the seventh of Nisan was kept as a festival,⁴

¹ Lu. iv. 16.

² Cf. p. 219.

³ Ezek. xlv. 20.

⁴ Probably as the last day of the sacred new moon of Nisan. Ewald too, *die prophet. des Alt. Bund.* II. 389, understands Ezek. xlv. 18—21 of the new-year's festival alone.

while the only case in which a sabbath could occur again immediately after the first sabbath of Nisan was when this happened to fall on the 6th of Nisan, and when therefore the 15th of Nisan fell on a Monday, as was the case in 782 A.U.C.

(5) According to the three Synoptists¹ John the Baptist was put in prison by Herod Antipas because, "without respect of persons," he had reprov'd his unlawful union with Herodias, his half-brother Philip's wife. Now, it is most probable that this rebuke was uttered by John immediately after this illicit connection had commenced, since his indignation on this account must have been then the most vehement. If, then, we could ascertain the date of this marriage, we should be able to fix that of the Baptist's imprisonment with tolerable certainty. This belongs to that class of data in which profane history² touches on the field of the Gospel history, for Josephus records³ this connection between Antipas and Herodias, as well as the imprisonment and execution of the Baptist. This passage of Josephus therefore has always been regarded as a most welcome confirmation, and in some degree as a complement of the Gospel narratives. It was natural, too, that it should also be employed for a chronological object, and the less men knew how to avail themselves of the copious materials in the Gospels, the greater was the weight they were wont to give to it, thereby often giving rise to fundamental complication in the New Testament chronology. We will first consider the misapplication of the passage, and then determine its true application.

Its misapplication consists in this, that some writers,⁴ influenced principally by this passage of Josephus, are of opinion that our Lord was not crucified until several years subsequently to 30 A.D. = 783 A.U.C., or even, as Schrader

¹ Lu. iii. 19, 20, Mar. vi. 17 sq., Matt. xiv. 3 sq.

² The best treatise on this point is that of Salomon van Til, in his *Dissert. de tempore incarcerationis Johannis Baptistæ, ex Herodis Antipæ itinere Romano eruendo*, among his *Dissert. chronolog. theolog. selectiores*, p. 87 sq. Cf. Anger, *l. c.* p. 195.

³ *Ant.* xviii. 5. 1 and 2.

⁴ e. g. Schrader, *der Apostel Paulus*, v. 1. p. 36 sq.

holds, not till 35 A.D. His arguments, as far as they belong to this subject, are as follows.¹ Josephus makes the war undertaken by Antipas' father-in-law, Aretas, king of Arabia, on account of the repudiation of his daughter, contemporaneous with the death of Philip the tetrarch, in the autumn of 34 A.D.² It is probable, then, that Aretas' daughter may have been sent back to her father's house in the spring of the same year. Consequently the Baptist's imprisonment cannot have taken place before the Passover of 34 A.D., nor our Lord's crucifixion before the Passover of 35 A.D. This reasoning is based on a number of erroneous premisses. Among these is the assertion that the war with Aretas broke out in 34 A.D., while, on the contrary, according to Josephus, it must be placed two years later, about 36 A.D. For Vitellius, the Governor of Syria, sent immediate information of the defeat of Herod to Tiberius, on which the emperor, being exceedingly enraged, wrote back that he must make war on Aretas, and deliver him into his hands alive or dead.³ The historian further informs us⁴ that Vitellius proceeded to put the Emperor's command into execution, but while still on his march was surprised in Jerusalem, during the celebration of a feast, by the news of Tiberius' death. This took place March 16, 37 A.D. Is it, then, probable that the Governor should have delayed so long to put the commands of the enraged Emperor into execution? In this case it would indeed be very surprising if Josephus still made that war contemporaneous with the death of Philip. This notion is entirely grounded on the words,⁵ Ἐν τούτῳ (=at "this time," a little before is the account of Philip's death) δὲ στασιάζουσιν Ἀρέτας τε ὁ Περραῖος βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἡρώδης, and on the fact that this account of the hostility between Aretas and Herod comes

¹ Cf. in refutation Anger, *l. c.* and Wurm, *Über die Zeitbestimmungen im Leben des Apostels Paulus*. Tübing. Zeitsch. 1833, part 1. p. 28 sq. Anger is most convincing. Wurm certainly refutes with good success the positive side of Schrader's view in several particulars, but the fundamental chronology of the life of Christ on which he builds his theory is somewhat insecure.

² See in refutation of this, p. 172.

³ *Ant.* XVIII. 5. 1.

⁴ *Ib.* XVIII. 5. 3.

⁵ *l. c.* § 1.

immediately after that of Philip's death. But it is evident how indefinite the words *ἐν τούτῳ* are, while Wurm has abundantly shewn how little is to be proved by the mere position of the account. And even if the greatest possible precision were allowed to *ἐν τούτῳ*, Schrader's view would not receive any support; for *σπασιάζουσιν* does not signify "to make war," but "to quarrel," "to live in enmity." At Philip's death Aretas and Herod were certainly already living in enmity, since the latter had, some considerable time before, repudiated the daughter of the former. Besides, the war with Aretas, and his daughter's repudiation, are put by Josephus only in a causal, not in a temporal connection. The repudiation was the first cause of the war, but, as Josephus expressly adds, there was a subsequent one, arising from a dispute about the boundaries of the province of Gamala. All we can say then is that, according to Josephus, the intercourse of Antipas with Herodias took place at least *before* the outbreak of the war in 36 A.D.; how long before, Josephus gives us no direct information. But it may be objected, that Josephus does certainly tell us that some of the Jews viewed Herod's defeat as a divine judgment for having commanded the Baptist's execution, from which it follows that it is impossible for the one to have taken place a considerable time, *i.e.* some years, before the other. But such a possibility can be illustrated by other instances; *e.g.* when Josephus¹ speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem as a divine punishment for the murder of Jonathan the high-priest, and other contemporary deeds of blood; though there was a still longer interval between the facts thus brought into connection than in the above-mentioned case.²

If, then, Josephus has in this passage furnished no direct date of the connection between the tetrarch Antipas and Herodias, it may still be possible to derive this indirectly by putting various passages together. This course has been adopted by Van Til, and to some extent by Anger, in the following way. Josephus informs us, in the life of that monarch,³ that Agrippa I., who was at the time in

¹ *Ant.* xx. 8. 5.² *Cf.* p. 203.³ *Ant.* xviii. 6. 1—3.

the court of Tiberius in Rome, was obliged to leave the city, in order that the emperor's grief might not be constantly renewed by the sight of one who had been an early friend of his son Drusus, who had been poisoned by Sejanus. On his reaching Judea by sea, his wife applied to her sister Herodias, Ἡρώδῃ τῇ τετράρχῃ συνοικοῦσαν, with the request that she would procure from her husband a provision for his brother, who was entirely destitute of the means of support. In consequence of this application Tiberias was assigned to him as a place of residence, and a certain income was appointed for his maintenance. These amicable relations, however, between Agrippa and Herod did not last long (οὐ μὴν γε ἐπὶ πλείον γε Ἡρώδης ἐνέμεινε τοῖς δεδογμένοις), whereupon Agrippa betook himself to Flaccus, the governor of Syria. Now we know that the above-named Drusus died before 33 A.D.,¹ and that Tiberius cared, or appeared to care, little for his death at the time.² Nor was it until he was informed by Sejanus' wife, Apicata,³ a few days after her husband's execution (xv. Kal. Nov. 31 A.D.),⁴ of his son's violent death at the hands of his perfidious favourite, that sorrow and indignation at having been deprived of him by so abominable a crime took possession of his mind.⁵ It must therefore have been at this time (in the autumn of 31 A.D.), or, on account of the difficulty of sailing at the beginning of winter, not until the spring of 32 A.D., that Agrippa left Rome. From the state of matters at the time, and from the fact that, as

¹ Tacit. *Annal.* iv. 8.

² Sueton. *Tiber.* 52. Cf. Tacit. *Annal.* l. c. and iv. 13. "Alterius (sc. Drusi) vitii infensus: nam Drusus animi fluxioris remissiorisque vitæ erat. Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde affectus est, sed tantum non statim a funere ad negotiorum consuetudinem rediit, justitio longiore inhibito. Quin et liliensibus legatis paullo serius consolantibus quasi oblitterati jam doloris memoriâ irridens: se quoque, respondit, vicem eorum dolere, quod egregium civem Hectora amisissent."

³ Dio, LVIII. 11.

⁴ Tacit. iv. 8, vi. 25.

⁵ Suet. *Tiber.* 62. "Auxit intenditque sævitiam, exacerbatus indicio de morte filii sui Drusi; quem cum morbo et intemperantia periissee existimaret, ut tandem veneno interemtum fraude Livillæ uxoris atque Sejani cognovit, neque tormentis neque supplicio cujusquam pepercit: soli huc cognitioni adeo per totos dies deditus et intentus," etc.

Josephus expressly adds, Agrippa was in the sorest straits for money, the former supposition is more probable.¹ When Agrippa reached Judea he found Herodias already married to Antipas. We consequently get as our extreme "terminus ad quem" for this marriage the spring of 32 A.D., or probably the autumn of 31 A.D. = 784 A.U.C. With this the statement of Josephus agrees, according to which Agrippa, after having dwelt a short time in Tiberias, which had been assigned him as a residence, betook himself to Flaccus, the governor of Syria, who was already dead at the close of 33 A.D.²

A second computation has been employed by Salomon Van Til, and that with no little ingenuity, which appears to warrant still more definite conclusions. His line of proof is so striking that we can adopt it with a few perhaps not unessential modifications. I shall at once give it in its more precise form, which appears to me the more suitable for the purpose. Josephus informs us³ that it was on a journey to Rome on business,⁴ having on his journey paid his step-brother Herod a visit, that Antipas first conceived the idea of his connection with Herodias. The bargain was struck between them that Herodias should join him immediately after his return. Now, if we could determine the date of this journey, we should be able also by it to fix, with considerable probability, that of their unlawful union, and consequently that also of the Baptist's imprisonment. Now, an independent, and reliable "terminus ad quem" for this journey may be obtained in the following way, adopted by Van Til. Among the specific charges brought against Antipas by Agrippa I. before the Emperor Caligula, was that he had joined Sejanus in a conspiracy against the government of Tiberius. Now, since this conspiracy could only have taken place through personal intercourse, and that at a time when Sejanus was in the enjoyment of high favour

¹ When the fast, *νηστεία*—the day of atonement on the 10th of Tisri—was already past, Paul, as we know, Acts xxvii. 9, was still on the open sea.

² Tacit. *Annal* vi. 27. Cf. Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* iii. pp. 279 sqq.

³ *Ant.* xviii. 5. 1.

⁴ Διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ ἐφ' ἅπερ ἔσταλτο. [Cf. Greswell, *Dissert.* i. 230, 312.]

with Tiberius, i.e. at the time of Antipas' journey to Rome, mentioned by Josephus, we shall have to place the extreme "terminus ad quem" of this journey before Sejanus' death, i.e. before October 31 A.D. It appears that its extreme "terminus a quo" must be 29 A.D., since it was with this year, i.e. with the death of the Empress-dowager Livia, the emperor's mother, which, according to Tacitus, took place in the consulate of the two Gemini, the power of Sejanus began to grow;¹ Livia having previously stood in his way.²

There are, however, other reasons which make it advisable to fix Antipas' journey in 29 A.D. For if we look through the years 29, 30, 31, A.D., to find a motive for it, the most suitable, and, as far as extant history informs us, the only suitable one, appears in that year. At that time the powerful Livia was dead, and almost incredible honours had been decreed her by the Senate, besides those ordered by Tiberius.³ Now, certainly Herod Antipas had very good reasons for offering his condolence. He indeed it was, who, to do honour to the Empress, had, at an earlier period, of his own accord given the name of Julius⁴ to Betharamphta in Peræa, after he had enlarged and decorated it. Moreover, it is almost self-evident, even if we had not the express testimony of Josephus to the point, that he was pursuing a plan of self-interest. For such a plan a very favourable moment had arrived; how could he have let it slip? They would not easily refuse anything to so devoted a servant of the deceased Empress. Perhaps his object was to endeavour to acquire the inheritance, now left without an owner, which the Empress had possessed

¹ Dio, LVIII. 2 sq.

² Tacit. *Annal.* v. 3. "Incolumi Augusta erat adhuc perfugium; quia Tiberio inveteratum erga matrem obsequium, neque Sejanus audebat auctoritati parentis anteire."

³ Dio, LVIII. 2.

⁴ The town was also called *Livias*. Hug, in his *Gutachten* in the *Freiburg Zeitschr.* vol. II. part I. p. 32, remarks on it, "The name Julia was not so much known, because it was not given to the Emperor's wife till after his death, in consequence of the will by which she was adopted into the Julian family." Sueton. *Aug.* 101. On this "Julias," or "Livias," in Peræa, see Reland, *Palæst.* p. 869, and Räumler, *Paläst.* unter "Beth-Haran," p. 171.

in the kingdom of his father Herod the Great,¹ and partly in the immediate vicinity of his own tetrarchy. At any rate, that in his journey to Rome he had his own interest in view, is expressly told us by Josephus² in the words *διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφ' ἃπερ ἔσταλτο*, "after he had accomplished in Rome the object of his journey thither." Moreover it is certain that at this time he received the fortress of Machærus in the south of Peræa; for Josephus relates that the lawful wife of Antipas, the daughter of Aretas, on the report of his arrangement with Herodias which had preceded his arrival, and while he was on his way home (*ἐπεὶ ἐπανεχώρει*), departed to Machærus, the frontier town of the kingdom of Antipas and Aretas, which then belonged to her father (*τότε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῇ*), with the view of thence betaking herself to his protection, by the help of a *στρατηγὸς* of his stationed there. Josephus further relates that the Baptist, on account of the boldness of his language, was imprisoned and put to death by Antipas in Machærus; and to prevent any one imagining the existence of more than one Machærus he adds, *τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον*. How could Antipas have imprisoned the Baptist in a foreign country, and especially in the territory of Aretas, whom recent circumstances had not only rendered personally hostile to him, but also placed under personal obligations to the prisoner, and that on the very ground of his imprisonment? We can certainly hardly embrace the bold idea of Hug,³ that Josephus had been wrongly informed as to the place of the Baptist's imprisonment, especially since we should still have to explain how Josephus himself failed to notice so obvious a contradiction. Nothing else remains for us then but the simple hypothesis, in connection with the expression *διαπραξάμενος*, that at the time of the Baptist's imprisonment, and in consequence of that journey to Rome, Machærus had really come into the hands of Antipas. It

¹ This included Jamnia, Ashdod, Phasaelis, and Archelais, which had been left by the will of Herod the Great to his sister Salome, and had been bequeathed by her to the Empress. *Ant.* xvii. 8. 1; 5. 5; xviii. 2. 2. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 1.

² *Ant.* xviii. 5. 1.

³ *Observations*, l. c. pp. 32 33.

is at once intelligible, especially in the circumstances in which he was then placed, why in the event of any attack from Aretas, the possession of this strong hill-fort, surpassed in strength, according to Pliny,¹ by Jerusalem alone in the whole of Palestine, and the key of Peræa, should have been of such importance to Antipas.

Now, if we assume that Antipas, immediately after receiving the news of the death of Livia in 782 A.U.C., set out for Rome, a new light will be thrown on the odious imputation brought against Antipas by Agrippa, of having conspired with Sejanus against the rule of Tiberius. If Agrippa was anxious to hasten the overthrow of Antipas, it was essential for him to cast suspicion on the most prominent proofs of devotion to the imperial house which had been given by him. Among these were the naming of the towns Tiberias and Julias, after the emperor Tiberius and the Empress-mother. Caligula could hardly have had such personal grounds for indignation at any dislike shewn to the name of Tiberius, as at any dishonour done to the name of Livia, his grandmother. For Tiberius had poisoned his father, banished his mother, and only recognized him as his successor on compulsion, while he had been brought up in Livia's house, and after her death had delivered her funeral oration.² How deeply, then, must he have been wounded, if the journey undertaken by Antipas, apparently to do honour to the memory of the deceased, proved to have been only a preconcerted plan with the conspirator Sejanus. A calumnious charge of this kind would not only fix the stamp of opposition to the name and person of the Emperor on this journey, but also brand it with the character of the most shameful ingratitude to the Emperor's revered grandmother. And so every memory of the past, which might have pleaded for Antipas in the Emperor's heart, would be rooted out at one stroke.

It results from this line of argument, that we may, on the one hand, regard it as fully proved, that the fatal journey of Antipas to Rome took place, according to the account of Josephus, at any rate before the death of Sejanus, *i.e.* before the autumn 784 A.U.C., and, on the other

¹ v. 16.

² Suet. *Calig.* 10.

hand, that we may consider it as exceedingly probable that it was undertaken immediately after the death of Livia, in 782 A.U.C. The second of these conclusions, however, cannot be looked on as fully proved until we view it in connection with the fundamental date given in the Gospels, viz. that the Baptist's imprisonment took place about the 19th of March, 782 A.U.C. We must, however, assume that Livia died before the commencement of that year, which certainly, so far as I know, is nowhere expressly stated, though it is nowhere expressly denied. On the contrary, when Tacitus¹ places her death in the consulate of the two Gemini, this will agree perfectly well with our hypothesis, since at that time² the Roman consuls entered on their office on the first of January.³ If, then, Antipas hastened his journey home as much as possible, that he might at the earliest moment taste the sweets of his illicit union, he might easily enough—since a prince travels rapidly—reach his home before the feast of Purim, i.e. March 19th. His evil report had anticipated him, and the unpopularity of his act was enhanced by the flight of his lawful wife. John, the preacher of repentance, as we shall see immediately, was in his neighbourhood, and the boldness of his rebukes very soon, even by the Feast of Purim, conducted him to prison.

(6) In conclusion, the statements made by the Evangelists and by Josephus, as to the place of the Baptist's imprisonment, either lead us to the same date, or, at any rate, may be readily harmonized with it. As far as regards the scene of the closing labours of the Baptist, we learn from Luke that the period of activity which ended in his imprisonment took place in the wilderness of Judah⁴ (ἐν

¹ *Annal.* v. 1.

² Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronolog.* i. 148.

³ With this agrees the fact that, according to Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* ii. 6, p. 157, the last coin struck in the lifetime of Livia was in the 30th year of the Tribuneship of Tiberius, i.e. 781, 782 A.U.C. Cf. Drumann, *Gesch. Roms*, i. part 2, p. 183.

⁴ It is certainly not expressly stated by Luke that it was in the wilderness of Judah. This, however, is at once understood from the internal connection of his Gospel, since he states expressly that the Baptist was born in a city of Judah, and among the Judean hills. Luke i. 39, 65. According to the Gospels, the Baptist's ministry only extended to Peræa and Judea.

τῇ ἐρήμῳ), and that he betook himself from the wilderness into the *περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*.¹ while this sojourn of his in the wilderness appears identical with that at Αἰνὼν near to Σαλεῖμ, of which we read in John.² At any rate, I have no doubt³ that by the Αἰνὼν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλεῖμ, in John, we must understand *יָצ*, and *יָצָה*,⁴ towns in the wilderness of Judah, mentioned in the book of Joshua. The LXX. according to the Cod. Alex. render these names by Σελεεῖμ καὶ Αἰνὼν: according to the Cod. Vat. they only give the former, rendering it Σαλή, while they throw *יָצ* later, v. 61, and render it as in John by Αἰνὼν. This *יָצ* is again mentioned⁵ as belonging to the tribe of Simeon, but this, as we know, received its inheritance within the boundaries of Judah. The identity of the *יָצ* in the two places, apart from the similarity of the names, is clear from its association in each case with Rimmon,⁶ the position of which in the southern borders of Judah confirms the position we have assumed for Ænon. Certainly the traditional view places the Salem of John and the neighbouring Ænon eight Roman miles to the South of Scythopolis, and consequently in Samaria: which, however, has nothing to support it, but the authority of some of the fathers. The tradition that the Baptist carried on his ministry in Samaria belongs altogether, if I am not mistaken, to the same class as that which asserts that he suffered martyrdom in Samaria, i.e. in Sebaste,⁷ and, in perfect consistency with this view, makes Herod a son, or at any rate a successor, of Archelaus, and therefore ruler of Samaria.⁸ But if we take our stand on the text of the Gospels, the above-mentioned view agrees with Joh. iii. 26 (cf. i. 28), so far as it leads us to look for these localities, at any rate,

¹ Luke iii. 3.

² Joh. iii. 23.

³ This is also the view of Bleek, *de Libri Geneseos origine*, p. 21. Lücke, too, inclines to it.

⁴ Jos. xv. 32.

⁵ Jos. xix. 7.

⁶ For Rimmon, see Winer, *R. W. B.*, and Raümer, *Palästina*.

⁷ Malala, *Chronograph.* p. 305.

⁸ See Eusebius, *Chronicon*, and Epiphanius, *Advers. Hæres.* xx. Cf. Nold, *de Vita et Gestis Herodum*, p. 253 sq. Was the mistake originally caused by the *ὁ αὐλὼν Σαλήμ*, Judith iv. 4, or by Matt. iv. 12?

to the west of the Jordan: though the same indications are equally suitable to Judea, and we may very reasonably enquire how John, the champion of the Covenant, came to go to Samaria? The Evangelist indicates plainly enough that his Ænon is to be looked for in Judea; for after having said, ch. iii. 22, that Jesus and his disciples had baptized in the land of Judea (ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ γῇ), he immediately proceeds ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ. Now it is certainly most natural to refer the comparison here indicated by καὶ, not merely to the act of baptizing, but for baptizing in the land of Judea: there was no need of this clause to inform us that John baptized. Further, the Evangelist, ch. iii. 25, mentions a dispute which John's disciples had with a Jew (μετὰ Ἰουδαίου, as we must read after the MSS., instead of Ἰουδαίων) on their master's right of baptism. What brings the Jew,¹ who besides probably belonged to the orthodox Pharisaic party, to John and his disciples, if at that time they were sojourning in Samaria? The Evangelist tells us,² that the Baptist was sojourning in "Ænon near to Salem," because there were many springs there (ὅτι ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ). Exactly. For ἵγ signifies a spring, and πηγῶν too, like the well-known spring πηγῆ,³ derives its

¹ The connection of this pregnant narrative appears, according to the meaning of the Evangelist, to have been the following: A Jew, i.e. as is probable *a priori* from John's usual mode of designation, a Pharisee, is disputing with the Baptist's disciples about their master's right to baptize. In this he acted precisely in the spirit of the other members of his party, John i. 24, who are certainly designated as Jews, v. 19, who, when John confessed that he was neither "the Christ," nor "that Prophet," asked τί οὖν βαπτίζεις; v. 25, and in his dispute, rested, in all probability, on the Baptist's own words as then spoken. At any rate the disciples of John, when, after the termination of the dispute, they betake themselves in uncertainty to their master for a decision of the question regarding the lawfulness of his baptism, and its relation to that of Christ, evidently refer to the public testimony borne by him to Christ at that time. John iii. 26, ὅς ἦν μετὰ σοῦ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ᾧ σὺ μαρτύρηκας. Cf. ch. iii. 28. Their master, however, confirms all that he had previously said to them concerning Christ and His superior dignity, vv. 27—36. The Pharisees therefore were, as indeed they could not fail of being, unceasing and keen observers of the ministry not merely of Jesus, but also of the Baptist. Cf. ch. iv. 1.

² Joh. iii. 23.

³ Cf. the etymology, Joh. ix. 7.

name from the gushing forth of water. The more critically correct reading *Σαλείμ*, not *Σαλήμ*, also points to a plural form, such as *סִיחָנִים*. The word *סִיחָנִים* would be expressed in Greek by *Σαλήμ*.¹

From *Ænon*, then, in the wilderness of Judea, John came, everywhere preaching repentance, into the *περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*,² i.e. the district lying on either bank of the Jordan, enclosed on either side by a wall of mountains, stretching from the Lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea.³ In his wanderings, therefore, he visited the *Peræan περίχωρος*, which belonged to the kingdom of Herod Antipas, and there he must have had that dissension with the tetrarch, who previously "heard him gladly,"⁴ in consequence of which he was imprisoned. If now we look into Josephus we shall find that he agrees admirably with this hypothesis, for he states expressly that the Baptist was imprisoned in Machærus, in the southern boundaries of *Peræa*, where also he was executed. Indeed, we are even able to determine with great probability the very place where Antipas must at that time have been sojourning. It was *Julias* (or *Livias*), which, lying in that part of *Peræa* not far from Machærus, belonged to the *περίχωρος*, and was, as its dedication to Livia suggests, alternately with Tiberias the residence of Antipas; perhaps his summer residence, since the climate of Tiberias was hot and unhealthy. From this place, too, protected by the fortress of Machærus, he could most effectually overlook and repel the hostile measures of the deeply wounded Aretas, whose territories here adjoined his own. The narrative of the Baptist's death, however,⁵ which took place some weeks after his imprisonment, may be deemed decisive. For the place where Antipas was then sojourning is determined by the two following marks. It was a place where he was celebrating his *γενέσια*, and to which he had summoned all the chief men of his kingdom:⁶ this indicates a place of

¹ Cf. LXX. Gen. xiv. 18, xxxiii. 18, Judith iv. 4, Heb. vii. 1, 2; the form *Ἰηρουσαλήμ*, etc.

² Its Hebrew name is *כְּכַר יַרְדֵּן*: its Greek name *μέγα πείσιον* and *αὐλών*. Cf. Reland, *Palæst.* p. 452 sq. Räumler, *Palästina*, p. 49 sq.

³ Luke iii. 3.

⁴ Mark vi. 20.

⁵ Mark vi. 17, Matt. xiv. 3.

⁶ Mark vi. 21.

residence in which there was a large castle. Again, the daughter of Herodias¹ was able to ask the tetrarch that she might have the head of the Baptist given her while still in the festal-chamber (ἄσσε) "on a charger," at the close of the feast.² This again indicates a place which, if not Machærus itself, was yet sufficiently near it for the fulfilment of her request. These marks taken together exclude Tiberias, which was not only not in Peræa, but also was too far from Machærus, and, as I believe, indicate Julias, and Julias alone, where, as Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 4. 2, repeatedly states, there was a royal residence.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUCCESSION OF EVENTS IN THE THIRD SECTION.

THE initial and terminal points of this third section³ are known to us, and are furnished with satisfactory chronological marks. The mutual relation of the text of the Evangelists to one another has been already shewn, and we have seen that the section John i. 19—v. 47 is to be inserted in the synoptical narrative between the history of the Temptation and the return of our Lord to Galilee after the imprisonment of the Baptist, and that the narrative, Luke iii. 1—20, is nearly contemporaneous with that given in John v. 1 sq. We have therefore, before we give a connected arrangement of the events in the present

¹ That Herodias had a daughter is also mentioned by Josephus. Her name was Salome, *Ant.* xviii. 5. 4.

² Fritzsche expresses his opinion, *Comment. z. Evang. d. Matth. in loc.* that the text of the Gospel does not necessarily lead us to infer that the Baptist's head was brought on the actual day of the feast. In opposition to this, cf. Strauss, i. p. 418, who agrees with De Wette and others in fixing the place of the feast at Machærus. Hug, *Gutacht. Freib. Zeitschr.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 31, 32, had already imagined that it was held at Julias.

³ Luke iii. 1—iv. 13, Mark i. 1—13, Matt. iii. 1—iv. 11, John i. 19—v. 47.

section, only to enter on an independent and detailed investigation of the facts narrated by John.¹

In the above section of John's Gospel we find three fixed chronological data, by which the rest of the narrative can be easily adjusted.² (1) The Passover of 781 A.U.C. for which Our Lord went up to Jerusalem³ (in this year the 15th of Nisan fell on the 30th of March). (2) Our Lord's return to Galilee through Samaria,⁴ four months⁵ before the Passover of 782 A.U.C. (this was a leap year, in which the 15th of Nisan fell on April 18th, so that this journey must have been made in December, 781 A.U.C.). (3) The feast of Purim on the 14th of Veadar, i.e. March 19th, 782 A.U.C., for which Jesus again went up to Jerusalem.⁶

All the events therefore related in Joh. i. 19—ii. 13, took place before March 30th, 781 A.U.C. How long before cannot be determined in *days*, since the length of Our Lord's residence in Capernaum⁷ is not given with the necessary precision. The following may be regarded as a probable approximation. The narrative⁸ certainly includes three days, as we see from the twice-repeated *ἡ παύριον*.⁹ The account of Simon Peter's call to the discipleship¹⁰ in all probability gives us a fourth day, or we shall have to assume that Peter was called on the evening of the third day, the same in which his brother Andrew and the unnamed disciple (the Apostle John) accompanied Jesus home: a view, however, which is pretty clearly refuted by v. 39, "and they abode with him that day," in which the *whole* of the day seems to be intended; while the supplementary clause *ὅρα ἦν ὡς δεκάτη*, only seems to point out the initial point of their connection with Christ, the moment in which that call of our Lord, "Come and see," which could never be forgotten by those

¹ Joh. i. 19—v. 47.

² Cf. Bernhard Jacobi, *Über die data zur Chronologie des Lebens Jesu in dem Evangelium des Johannes*. Stud. u. Krit. 1838, part 4, pp. 850—867.

³ Joh. ii. 13.

⁴ Joh. iv. 1—14.

⁵ Cf. Joh. iv. 35.

⁶ Joh. v. 1.

⁷ Καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, Joh. ii. 12.

⁸ Joh. i. 19—40.

⁹ v. 29 and v. 35.

¹⁰ Joh. i. 41—43.

who heard it, first sounded in their ears. The remainder of the chapter occupies another day,¹ on which Jesus originally intended to return to Galilee, ἠθέλησεν ἐξελθεῖν, but was hindered, as it seems, by His anxiety for the spiritual welfare of the two disciples Philip and Nathanael, who became His that day. The whole passage, Joh. i. 19—52, includes therefore four, or rather five, days. The events of these five days are most probably to be placed in February, scarcely any earlier, since at that time Nathanael was already able to sit under a fig-tree,² which we must therefore suppose to have been then in leaf. Three days later (for to keep up the congruity of the narrative it appears necessary to reckon "the third day"³ from the ἐπαύριον⁴), we come to the narrative contained in Joh. ii. 1—11. On the third day after the call of Philip and Nathanael, on the seventh after the mission of the deputation of the Sanhedrim to the Baptist, and his public testimony respecting himself and our Lord, and thus at the close of this period of eight days, so important in the history of Jesus (which seem on account of this significance to be specified by their succession in days), there was a marriage at Cana in Galilee. Now if we assume, as the tenor of the narrative renders probable, that the marriage began on the third day, and that it lasted seven days,⁵ we have, counting the journey to Capernaum⁶ to have occupied a single day, seven days more. Consequently, from Joh. i. 19, up to the arrival of our Lord in Capernaum, ch. ii. 12, thirteen, or probably fourteen, days elapsed.

To this succeeds an interval which cannot be exactly

¹ Joh. i. 44, τῇ ἐπαύριον.

² Joh. i. 49, 51. It is to be remarked, however, that the climate of the shores of the lake of Tiberias was one of the mildest in Palestine. Josephus remarks of this district, *de Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 8, παρατείνει δὲ τὴν Γεννησὰρ ὁμώνυμος χώρα θυμαστὴ φύσιν τε καὶ κάλλος. Even the fig-tree, which, as the historian had said a little before, prefers a milder climate, bears fruit here for ten months of the year, τὰ μὲν γὰρ βασιλικώτατα, σταφύλην τε καὶ σῦκον, δέκα μηνὶν ἀδιαλείπτως χορηγεῖ τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καρποὺς δι' ἔτους ὅλου περιγηράσκοντας αὐτοῖς. Cf. Crome, *Geogr. Histor. Besch. des Landes Syrien*, part i. p. 335 sq., who has there collected much from the accounts of different travellers on the climatic conditions of this district.

³ Joh. ii. 1.

⁵ Cf. p. 169.

⁴ Joh. i. 44.

⁶ Joh. ii. 12.

defined, viz. the οὐ πολλὰὶ ἡμέραι, spent by our Lord in Capernaum. We may, however, fix its termination with some degree of precision. For we may assume that our Lord, according to the Jewish custom, reached Jerusalem by the 10th of Nisan¹ at latest, and that, three or four days being reckoned for the journey, he left Capernaum at latest on the 6th of Nisan=March 21st. Our Lord's residence in Capernaum appears therefore to have occupied the earlier portion of March, and to have even reached back into February, since when we bear in mind the evident purpose of the Evangelist to depict our Lord's ministry in Galilee at that time as transient and fragmentary as contrasted with that in Judea, we are justified in the supposition that that statement of time conceals a longer rather than a shorter interval. And even if all that has been said here with a view to the closer determination of the οὐ πολλὰ ἡμέρ. were devoid of any solid foundation, still, such is the transparent clearness of the other chronological determinations, that the date fixed thereby, taken generally, is perfectly plain.

The section of John's Gospel, ch. ii. 13—iii. 26, embraces a residence of our Lord for about nine months in Judea, i.e. from the period of His going up to the Passover on March 30th, 781 A.U.C., up to His return to Galilee four months before the Passover of 782 A.U.C., i.e. in December, 781 A.U.C. Our Lord's ministry at this period was divided between Jerusalem² and the land of Judea;³ the latter, though little is expressly stated on the point,⁴ having certainly been of by far the longer duration. It is true, that it seems impossible to derive any closer definition of

¹ According to Exod. xii. 2. It was the usual custom for men to reach Jerusalem on the 8th of Nisan, as appears from Josephus, *de Bell. Jud.* vi. 5. 3, ἀφροισμένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτήν, ὁγδόη δὲ ἦν Ξανθικοῦ (in Josephus Xanthicus is synonymous with Nisan) μηνός. On this day, seven days before the feast, the ornaments of the high-priest, kept in the castle of Antonia, were (*Ant.* xviii. 4. 3) delivered up by the Roman commandant. Our Lord reached Bethany (John xii. 1) six days before his last Passover, by which time "much people of the Jews" had already come up. Joh. xi. 55, xii. 9—12.

² Joh. ii. 13—iii. 21.

³ Γῆ Ἰουδαία, Joh. iii. 22—36.

⁴ Cf., however, Joh. iv. 1.

time from the general formula, *μετὰ ταῦτα*, with which it is introduced, but all the more may be derived from the mode in which the ministry of our Lord in Jerusalem is described, from which we may gather that it was limited to the time of the celebration of the Passover. In Joh. ii. 23, the Evangelist only speaks of our Lord's remaining at Jerusalem during the Feast;¹ and it is to this that the formula *μετὰ ταῦτα* employed in the Evangelist's sense appears to point. Besides, a longer or more protracted stay in Jerusalem after the purification of the temple, Joh. ii. 14–21, would, as our Lord himself perceived, *vv.* 24, 25, have involved considerable personal danger. Indeed, the feelings of the chief council towards Him must have been quite clear to our Lord by the conduct of one of its members, the "ruler of the Jews," Nicodemus, who did not venture to come to Him except by night.²

In conclusion, the period between our Lord's journey to Galilee in December 781 A.U.C. and that to the Feast of Purim, March 19th, 782 A.U.C. is given us in Joh. iv. 1–54, from which, if we subtract about a week for the journey through Samaria to Galilee, and his two days' sojourn in the Samaritan city of Sychar,³ *i.e.* Sichem,

¹ I would translate the verse, "Now when He was in Jerusalem, at the Passover, at the Feast (*ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ*), etc.," *i.e.* our Lord was not at Jerusalem during the whole Paschal celebration (perhaps from the apprehension alluded to above), *i.e.* during the whole of the seven or eight days, called the Passover—this wide signification of *πάσχα* is even customary with John, cf. ii. 13, vi. 4, xi. 55, as we shall see more fully in the history of the Passion—but only at the Feast of the Passover, *i.e.* on those days of the Paschal week in which the feast culminated. These were the three ordinary feast days of the Passover, the 15th of Nisan with the evening of the 14th, the 16th, and 21st, and in that particular year, 781 A.U.C., the 19th, as the weekly Sabbath. The prevailing interpretation which makes no distinction between the extent of the notions conveyed here by *πάσχα* and *ἑορτή*, and therefore does not consider *ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ* as a more exact definition of *ἐν τῷ πάσχα*, must be regarded as untenable, because it only tells the reader what he knew very well already, that the Passover was a feast. The above is the only way in which I believe we can evade the exegetical difficulties brought forward by Paulus.

² Joh. iii. 2.

³ The name *Συχαρ* is well known in the attacks on John's gospel, since some have drawn from it proofs of the Evangelist's want of acquaintance with the best known localities in Judea; others, of his

ch. iv. 40, there remain about two or three months for His residence in Galilee, Joh. iv. 45—54.

foreign extraction. Its actual meaning is not quite so well known. Lücke, whose careful arrangement of the different views on this point should be referred to, says in the Appendix to his *Commentary*, vol. i. p. 658, "In the want of all certain data it is as difficult to abstain from hypotheses as to determine on the right one." I wish, however, to be allowed to submit a new hypothesis to the reader's judgment, which however, to some considerable extent, has been already anticipated by Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* p. 938 sq. In the first place, there can be no doubt that by Συχαρ Sichem is intended. This is plain, not merely from its position in Samaria, but more particularly from the fact that Joseph's burial-place, which had been purchased by Jacob (Joh. iv. 5), the spring, v. 6, and the well, v. 11, of Jacob were in its vicinity, which, as we see from Gen. xxxiii. 19, Jos. xxiv. 32, Gen. xlviii. 22 (where the LXX. render Συχαρ by Σίκιμα), points decidedly to Sichem. On this point there is no dispute among the interpreters; but while Συχαρ is represented in Greek by Σίκιμα, Σικήμ, Συκέμ (Acts vii. 16), such a rendering as Συχαρ is altogether without precedent, not only in this word, but generally. The Σεφαμάρ of the LXX. for ספא, Numb. xxxiv. 10, 11, which is adduced, is held even by Lücke as not altogether analogous. The examples brought forward by Credner, *Einleit.* i. 264 sq. ספא for ספא, ἀργαπητός (in the Palmyra inscriptions) for ἀγαπητός, belong certainly to a different class. For in them the π or γ stands at the beginning before the tonic syllable, and is either originally dageshed, or to be so considered. It results, therefore, from the form of the word alone that in Συχαρ we have another name for Sichem. And this is really so. Συχαρ is the סוכר of the Talmud, as Lightfoot at first conjectured, and the עין סוכר of the Talmud = the well of Sychar, is the עין סוכר of Joh. iv. 6. This assertion may be proved historical from what the Talmud says of its Sychar. Cf. the passages quoted by Lightfoot, *l. c.* *Bava Kama*, fol. 82. 2, "Erat cum adduceretur manipulus (primitiarum) מן גגות צריפין a Gaggoth Zeriphin et duo panes (offerendi a summo Pontifice) מבקעת עין סוכר a valle fontis Sychar." Sychar, therefore, was once in sacrificial connection with Jerusalem, and was even especially honoured, among the other towns, in the same way that Hebron was. The especial honour paid to these two places was without controversy due to the fact that they were the two burial-places of the patriarchs. On Hebron, see Lightfoot, *l. c.* pp. 92, 93. There is a Rabbinical legend which closes thus, "Maledictus sit quicunque alit porcos, maledictus sit qui docet filium sapientiam Græcorum. Et eo ipso tempore petitus est manipulus primitiarum a Gaggoth Zeriphin et duo panes a valle Ein Sychar." In this passage the bringing the sheaf of the first-fruits from Gaggoth Zeriphin, and the two loaves from Ein Sychar is represented as equally abominable as the keeping of swine or the study of Greek philosophy. Consequently these two places were regarded as lying in Samaria. They must, however, have had a mystical meaning, for they cannot be proved to

These preliminary investigations will enable us now to give the following general view of the text of the section, as a whole.

The first public appearance of the Baptist (taking place in the wilderness of Judea, probably in the Autumn of 779 A.U.C.) and his later ministry,¹ Mark i. 1—8, Matt. iii. 1—12.

Jesus, about thirty years old, is baptized by John in the Jordan, in the spring or summer of 780 A.U.C., Luke iii. 21—23, Mark i. 9—11, Matt. iii. 13—17.

Immediately afterwards, our Lord's forty days' tempta-

be historical. This is also expressly pointed out, in an allegorical form, in another legend adduced by Lightfoot, *Menachmoth*, fol. 68. 2. At the time that the two loaves were to be offered, a dumb man comes and makes himself understood by pantomimic signs, by laying one hand on his eye, and the other over the hole of the bolt of the door. [עין=fountain, has, as is well known, the other significations of *eye* and *opening* (*perforatio*). Then said Mordecai to the others, "Is there a place too called Ein Sychar, or Sychar Ein?" They looked for it and found it. That is, this mystical name is certainly historical only it is not stated where it is situated. It is characteristic that in this legend Mordecai, the national hero of the Feast of Purim, the enemy of all *Goyim* and Samaritans, is the speaker. As Sichem is intended by עין סיכר also = tecta tuguriolorum, stands for Shiloh, where at an earlier period the Tabernacle stood for a considerable time, Jos. xviii. 1, xix. 51, 1 Sam. i. 3, ix. 24, xiv. 3. Since the Samaritans could not be deprived of their property in these two places—their special pride—the Jews, to spite them, refused at any rate to pronounce their real names. To the same category of religious and national jealousy belongs the assertion, made so positively that even Eusebius, Jerome, and others of the Fathers believed it (cf. Reland, *Palæst.* p. 503, sq., Lightfoot, p. 936 sq.), that the mountains Gerizim and Ebal, situated near Sichem in Samaria, mentioned Deut. xi. 29, xxvii. 12, 13, Jos. viii. 33, are to be looked for in Peræa. It was another consequence of this national jealousy and hatred (cf. Joh. iv. 9) that the Samaritans claimed to have the graves of all the patriarchs in Sichem, while the Jews asserted that they were all in Hebron (cf. Meyer, Acts vii. 16). The name סיכר, derived from שָׁכַר = to buy, means "the bought," [rather "the buyer;" סיכר = "bought," "hired."—Tr.], i.e. perhaps with a reference to Ezr. iv. 5, ["and hired" וְשָׂכְרוּם "counsellors against them."—Tr.], the piece of land which Jacob bought at Sichem, Gen. xxxiii. 19; and since this served as a burial-place for individual patriarchs (Jos. xxiv. 32), the Rabbins could render it (cf. Lightfoot, *l.c.*) by *sepulchrum*. If this interpretation of Σαχαδ is correct, it appears to prove that the Evangelist was a Jew by birth, not a Greek or a Samaritan.

¹ Matt. iii. 1.

tion in the wilderness (of Judea?). Mark i. 12, 13, Luke iv. 1—13, Matt. iv. 1—11.

Then a longer interval, from five to six months, in the life of our Lord, of which nothing is recorded.

The testimony of the Baptist with regard to himself and his relation to Christ, before the messengers of the Sanhedrim, John i. 19—27, most probably in February, but at latest at the beginning of March 781 A.U.C. At this time John was baptizing in Bethany¹ in Peræa, Joh. i. 28, cf. x. 40, which is not to be confounded with Bethany near Jerusalem.²

The next thirteen or fourteen days bring us to the arrival of Jesus in Capernaum in Galilee, Joh. i. 29—ii. 11, where he tarried *οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας*, ch. ii. 12.

Our Lord takes His journey to Jerusalem for the Passover (March 30th), and tarries there and in Judea till four months before the 15th of Nisan, *i.e.* till December, 781 A.U.C. Joh. ii. 13—iii. 36.

The return of our Lord³ through Samaria, occupying about seven days, Joh. iv. 1—44, and His residence of two or three months in Galilee, *vv.* 45—54.

¹ Origen's correction *ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ* (בֵּית הַבָּרָה = the ferry-house) has been exhaustively discussed by Lücke, John i. 28. With this *Βηθαβαρᾷ* the *בֵּית הַבָּרָה* Jud. vii. 24, is perhaps identical. (Cf. Reland, *Pal.* p. 632.) As regards the etymology of *Βηθανία*, I consider that given by Simonis, *Onomast.* בֵּית הַדֵּפְרֶסִיּוֹן = "locus depressionis," the best, (even if we do not follow Hitzig in interpreting *בֵּית הַדֵּפְרֶסִיּוֹן*, Is. x. 30, of a distinct place, and that our Bethany), since in fact, it suits both Bethanys, *i.e.* if, as is commonly assumed, the Bethany near Jerusalem stood on the southern slopes of the Mount of Olives. For the different etymologies of the word, see Winer, *R. W. B.* "Bethany."

² Cf. John xii. 1.

³ The harmonizers of the present day, *e.g.* Hug, Neander, Paulus, Krabbe, Ebrard, etc., generally identify the journey from Jerusalem to Galilee, John iv. 43, with our Lord's return thither, recorded Luke iv. 14, *parall.* A principal reason for this appears to be the view of John iv. 44, which regards it as parallel to Luke iv. 24. (See, however, p. 40.) The result, however, was most unfavourable for the construction of any synoptical arrangement, for it was impossible to interpolate the frequent journeys of our Lord to Judea mentioned by John into the parallel text of the first three Evangelists. Since nothing is said there of any such interpolation, the expedient was not unfrequently adopted of denying this text any precise chronological character.

Our Lord's journey to Jerusalem for the Feast of Purim, i.e. the 14th of Veadar = March 10th, 782 A.U.C., and His hasty retreat to Galilee¹ after the imprisonment of the Baptist, Joh. v. 1—47.

Between this journey of our Lord through Samaria in December 781 A.U.C., and His return journey to Galilee, immediately after the Feast of Purim, 782 A.U.C., must be placed the narrative Luke iii. 1—20, which closes with the Baptist's imprisonment.

It follows, then, that from our Lord's baptism by John

¹ At the time of the Feast of Purim we find recorded, John v. 2, the healing of a sick man at the Pool of Bethesda (בֵּית־חַסְדִּים = house of mercy) by the sheep-gate (προβατική = προβατική πύλη, I.XX. בֵּית־חַסְדִּים Neh. iii. 1, 32, xii. 39). Where was this pool situated? We learn from Nehemiah, u.s. that the sheep-gate was near the towers Meah and Hananeel, and to the west of them. Where then were these towers? My opinion, to which tradition also points, is that they were in the north-eastern quarter of the old city, though, to avoid prolixity, the views as to the position of the individual gates of Jerusalem being so diverse, I am not able to confirm my opinion in greater detail. Under this hypothesis we may venture to identify the "pool of Bethesda" with that mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* v. 11. 4, under the name Ἀμύδαλον, which indeed was situated κατὰ βόρειον κλίμα. Lamy has already attempted this, but by means of a thoroughly insufficient etymology: המגדלה = "magna," "excellens." Lücke proposes "Tower-pool." I interpret Ἀμύδαλον as אֱלֹהִים מְנִיחַ = precious gift of God. The α before μύδαλον is euphonic, on which Ottfried Müller, *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1832, p. 112, remarks, "It may be proved that, in the first place, certain combinations of consonants, especially σκ, σπ, στ, also βλ, βρ, πλ, then the liquids, particularly μ, and ρ, and among the mutes sometimes the κ sounds, had an α prefixed to aid the pronunciation." The name would have a still more special reference if its meaning was אֱלֹהִים מְנִיחַ, "the precious gift of God is warm," for then the pool would be expressly pointed out as a warm medicinal spring. According to this etymology the expressions βηθεσδὰ and Ἀμύδαλον come to nearly the same. Is it possible that the name of the adjoining tower, אֱלֹהִים מְנִיחַ = "God is gracious," can stand in connection with them? Tradition points out the pool of Bethesda, or the sheep-pool near the present "St. Stephen's gate," which it identifies with the sheep-gate. And this is quite possible (cf. Räumler, *Palæst.* p. 202), since, according to our view, the sheep-gate must really have been situated in this quarter. Robinson, *Palestine*, II. p. 116, has only shewn that the modern St. Stephen's gate has been erroneously identified by tradition with the sheep-gate, not that it has been looked for in an entirely mistaken quarter.

up to His return to Galilee after the Feast of Purim, and the imprisonment of the Baptist, subsequently to the middle of March, 782 A.U.C., there was an interval of a year and a half, or a year and three quarters, of which only the latter portion, of about a year's duration, is described in any detail, and that by John.¹ Our Lord's Judean ministry preponderated during this period, for He tarried there some nine or ten months; on the other hand, that in Galilee was subordinate, His sojourn there only lasting two or three months.

We have thus succeeded in obtaining for the section under consideration not merely a thoroughly harmonious chronological arrangement of the events given by all four Evangelists, but also,—and this is of infinite importance, both in considering them synoptically, and also for the proof of their historical character, and consequently of their harmony,—it has been shewn that the only reason why the first three Evangelists pass over our Lord's predominant Judean ministry, given by John at the commencement of his Gospel, is that, according to their own statements and the object they had in view in writing their Gospels, it was not their purpose to give any account at all of the period in which that ministry is to be placed, for they begin with the imprisonment of the Baptist.

Indeed, the following hints (the number of which might easily be increased) seem to shew that the Synoptists have presupposed that our Lord was carrying on His ministry in Judea during the interval passed over by them. In the case of Matthew we have already seen this to be so.² It is only on this hypothesis that we can explain how it was that, according to Mark vi. 1, Matt. xiv. 1, the name of Jesus was not known to Herod Antipas till after the Baptist's death, i.e. two years after His baptism. For up to this time His ministry in Galilee and Peræa over which

¹ Wherever John speaks of the ἀρχή of our Lord's ministry, John xv. 27, 1 John i. 1 [?], we must, from the point of view of his Gospel, understand the first public testimony of the Baptist, and the consequent calling of several disciples, and of the Evangelist himself among them, John i. 19. The case is different with the Synoptists, p. 196. Cf. Mark i. 14, 15, Matt. iv. 12, 17.

² Matt. iv. 12. Cf. p. 161.

Antipas ruled, was only subordinate, while, as we learn from John, His chief activity at that time lay in Judea. It is Luke, however, who discovers the knowledge of this historical fact in the most striking way, *e.g.* ch. xiii. 34, 35. For up to the time when the words referred to were spoken by our Lord, which was during the journey to Jerusalem, mentioned ch. xiii. 22, Luke has only narrated one journey to Jerusalem.¹ But if up to this time our Lord had been only once in Jerusalem, how could He have said, "How often would I have gathered thee"? With this, we must compare Acts x. 39, and the three years of the parable of the Fig-Tree, Luke xiii. 7.

¹ Lu. ix. 51 sq.

SECTION III.

FROM OUR LORD'S RETURN FROM JUDEA TO GALILEE AFTER THE IMPRISONMENT OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, *i.e.* FROM THE FEAST OF PURIM, TO HIS JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM TO ATTEND THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

THE text of this section is to be found Lu. iv. 14—ix. 50; Mar. i. 14—ix. 50; Matt. iv. 12—xviii. 35; John vi. 1—vii. 1. In this period, extending to more than six months, our Lord was carrying on His ministry out of Judea, and especially in and around Capernaum (His *ἰδία πόλις*) in Galilee, where He had fixed his residence, on the eastern or Galilean, and the western or Peræan shores of the sea of Tiberias. Judea, as we saw at the end of the previous section, was already closed against Him by the hostility of the Pharisaic party.

We will first examine the text of this section generally, and then in detail, so that we may be able, in the third and last place, to give a brief *résumé* of certain general results of our collective investigation.

CHAPTER I.

THE TEXT OF THE SECTION AS A WHOLE.

IN this division two points demand special investigation: the harmony of the text as a whole, and the period occupied by the events recorded in it. If we shall succeed in throwing a sufficient light on these two points, deviations and errors in particulars will be less prejudicial to the fundamental view on which our chronological synopsis is based.

(1) In regard, then, to the general harmony of the text, this can be very readily demonstrated. Indeed, as regards the text of the first three Gospels it is universally recognized, and is clearly shewn in every Synopsis. With regard, however, to the text of John which we have placed in parallelism with it, we have already demonstrated that they both have the same initial point, by proving the identity of our Lord's journey through Galilee after the feast of Purim¹ with that after the Baptist's imprisonment,² so that all we have now to do is to shew the identity of their terminal point. This is done in the following manner.

On the one hand, John's narrative makes our Lord's wider ministry extend to the opposite districts of Galilee and Peræa; and on the other, just as the record of the first three Evangelists details a journey of our Lord to Judea at the close of this Galilean ministry, so also does that of John tell us of our Lord's having journeyed thither at the termination of His protracted sojourn in northern Palestine. Besides, if John subsequently records several journeys to Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, before that last journey to the Passover at which He was crucified, here too we find Luke at any rate running parallel to him. In all probability, then, we have to recognize a perfect parallelism between the above-named sections from the Synoptists and those from John.

We find a very welcome confirmation of our synoptical arrangement in the narrative Matt. xvii. 24—27. This depends on the correctness of our hypothesis that the tribute of two drachmas³ there mentioned was payable to the Roman Emperor. Certainly, the later exegetists, *e.g.* Kühnöl, Fritzsche, Meyer, Neander, Krabbe, De Wette, and others, explain it almost unanimously of the temple-tax, which it has been shewn amounted to two Attic drachmas, or half a shekel for every Israelite who had attained the

¹ Joh. vi. 1.

² Matt. iv. 12, Mar. i. 14, Luke iv. 14.

³ That the tax amounted to two drachmas per head is clear, as well from the name given to its collectors, *v. 24, οἱ τὸ διδραχμα λαμβάνοντες*, as from the fact that our Lord paid a *στατήρ*, or four drachmas, for Himself and Peter, *i.e.* for two persons.

age of twenty years,¹ and was paid in the month Adar²—while in former times, not a few referred it³ to the Roman census, or to a tax imposed by Herod Antipas, or to both together.

It seems to me, however, that the arguments for the former view are not convincing. It is said, in the first place, that there could have been no capitation-tax paid at that time in Galilee, because it was not then a Roman province; an objection to which we have already replied in detail, when speaking of Lu. ii. 1. We must, however, express our opinion that since no census was taken of Galilee at the time that Quirinus took that of Judea,⁴ this passage, if rightly understood by us, will afford a striking confirmation of the view we have put forth, viz. that a census was really taken of the kingdom of Herod the Great at the time of our Lord's birth, in exact accordance with Luke's statement. In the second place, it is urged, and not without some shew of reason, that it is a mere hypothesis that the Roman poll-tax amounted to two drachms, while it may be proved, from other sources, that this was the exact amount of the temple-tax. But the fact that this is the only place in which it is expressly mentioned, cannot surely form any valid argument against its reality. The identity of its amount with that of the temple-tax might indeed suggest a doubt. And yet, although the Jewish sovereigns received tithes⁵ just in the same way as tithes were paid to the Temple, no one doubts that both these equivalent taxes were actually paid. Besides, the δίδραχμον is an amount which we may readily account for, for it is the exact double⁶ of the Roman denarius, the coin in which the Roman tax was paid.⁷ Under these circumstances we must pay strict attention to the context, to see whether it helps us to decide in favour of one or the other view.

¹ Ex. xxx. 13, 2 Kings xii. 4, 2 Chron. xxiv. 6, Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 9. 1, *de Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 6.

² Tract טקלים i. 3, ii. 7.

³ Cf. Wolf, *Curæ*; Köcher, *Analect.*; Kühnöl, *Comment. in loc.*

⁴ Cf. p. 106. ⁵ Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 10. 6.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxi. 109, "Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus."

⁷ τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήρυον, Matt. xxii. 19.

Our Lord says to Simon Peter,¹ "What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of their own children, or of strangers?" On his answering, "Of strangers," Jesus said to him, "Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them," etc., and then He paid the tribute for Himself and Peter. Now, if we understand this of the temple-tax, there are two explanations we shall have to examine. We must, however, remark in the outset, that no explanation can be correct which fails in interpreting ἐλεύθεροι οἱ υἱοί, etc. so as to include Peter as well as our Lord. This has been neglected by nearly all the later commentators, with the exception of Olshausen and Paulus. The usual view is thus expressed by Fritzsche *in loco*, "itaque ergo immunes sunt regum," (i.e. as the context proves, "regum terræ"), "filii et nefas est a me, Dei filio, h.e. Messia, exigere tributum templi divini ærario persolvendum." But apart from this consideration, that οἱ υἱοί would thus be made to refer to Jesus only, there is not a single syllable in the passage to shew that our Lord was free from the tax as Son of God, which, as the point on which the whole hinged, could not have failed to have been expressed in the argument. In this case, it must at least have run ἄρα γε ἐλεύθεροι οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱοί, or still more plainly, and to express his meaning more closely, either ἄρα γε πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐλεύθεροί εἰσιν οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱοί, or, with Olshausen, ἄρα γε ἐλεύθ. εἰσιν καὶ οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱοί. We arrive at the same result also, if we extend the idea, "kings of the earth," so as to embrace Jehovah. This would be done if we conceived of Him as King of Palestine. For then, under the term "the children of the kings of the earth," the sons of God would be included. This is the view of Paulus.² But though Jehovah is spoken of in the Old Testament as ruling as a king over Palestine as His own peculiar domain, as theocratical sovereign of His own

¹ Matt. xvii. 25—27: Τί σοι δοκεῖ, Σίμων; οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τίνων λαμβάνουσι τέλη, ἢ κῆνσον; ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων; Εἰπόντος δὲ, Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀρα γε ἐλεύθεροί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοί; Ἵνα δὲ μὴ σκανδαλίσωμεν αὐτοὺς, κ. τ. λ.

² Exeg. Hdbch. in loc.

people, yet, according to the Old Testament view, His dominion over this, His own country, was of a totally different character from that which any earthly ruler, any mere man, could have exercised. Nothing, therefore, would be more at variance with the spirit of the Old Testament, to say nothing of that of our Lord Himself, than the view that Jehovah, as the invisible King of Palestine, is put in this passage on a level with the other "kings of the earth," and is included with them under the same idea. These, however, are the only two views (of those at least in which there is any fundamental difference) that can be possibly brought to justify the interpretation we are calling in question. But there is a further argument which tells against both of them. Those who maintain either view, must take the idea *οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς* in the most extended sense possible, which cannot be justified by the language used. In the first place, the idea of the *κῆνος* thus loses its force as a specific Roman institution, and is reduced to the general category of taxes, or, at most, direct taxes, such as the poll-tax and land-tax. This being admitted, the Roman emperors, who were certainly at that time the actual masters of the earth, must, at any rate, be intended by "the kings of the earth;" and whatever is said generally of the one, must also be applicable to the other. This, however, is not so. For if, with the majority of the modern commentators, we interpret *οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν* of the actual sons of kings, and, consequently, the *ἀλλότριοι* of all outside the royal family, i.e. of ordinary citizens and foreigners, the form of our Lord's enquiry precludes our thinking of the existing circumstances of the great Roman empire; for the Roman citizens, who must be included under the *ἀλλότριοι*, had at that time been for a considerable period free from taxation.¹ If, however, we understand the *υἱοὶ αὐτῶν* of the king's own subjects, and consequently the *ἀλλότριοι* of foreigners, both question and answer will apply *only* to the circumstances of Rome. It must also be considered that amid the great variety of the systems of taxation then existing, no such general question as that supposed could have been framed.

¹ Cf. p. 82.

These are the reasons which prevent my giving in my adherence to the view that the payment of the Jewish temple-tax is here spoken of. On the contrary, I believe that the reference is to a civil tax; a view to which we are immediately guided by the mention of the "kings of the earth" by whom it was imposed. By these, we must understand the Romans; since at that time they were the kings of the $\gamma\eta$, "orbis terrarum." The question and the answers on which the major premiss of our Lord's reasoning is founded become now, as we have already shewn, perfectly intelligible, when we take into account the circumstances of the period. But how does our Lord from this major premiss arrive at the conclusion that He and Peter are really exempt from that tax? To make this plainer, I will give the syllogism in full. *Major*. "The children of the kings of the earth pay no taxes." *Minor*. "We (you and I) are children of the kings of the earth." *Conclusion*. "Therefore we have no taxes to pay." Jesus therefore refers to the kingly dignity which resided in Him, and through Him in Peter also, to prove their ideal exemption from taxation. It is a profound and true thought, that the true God-fearing and God-taught man is the rightful king of the earth. This idea recurs repeatedly in the Old Testament, e.g. Ex. xix. 6. Selden, who in substance propounded the interpretation which I deem the correct one, has collected examples of the existence of this view among the later Jews.¹ For instance, a priest, a rabbi, was regarded as a son and companion of kings; and, indeed, as something more than this.² This view is spiritualized and glorified by our Lord in the New Testament, e.g. when He declares that "the meek shall inherit the earth," ($\gamma\eta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\ \gamma\eta\eta$).³ The fundamental principle, that the priests and their equals should be tax-free, was also

¹ *De jure naturali et gentium*, p. 809: "Neque semel occurrit in Talmudibus illud R. Simeonis velut vulgari usu atque estimatione notissimum, כל ישראל בני מלכים הם, 'universi Israelitæ sunt filii seu liberi regum.'"

² Cf. the examples collected by Gfrörer, *Jahrhundert des Heils*, I. p. 144 sq.

³ Matt. v. 5. Cf. Matt. xix. 28, 1 Pet. ii. 9, 1 Cor. vi. 2, iv. 8, Rom. viii. 17, 2 Tim. ii. 10, etc.

practically recognized by the Jews, and was now and then observed even by foreign princes.¹

If, then, we are correct in interpreting the *δίδραχμον* of a Roman census, it follows that this sum of two drachms was not paid in Adar,² i.e. March, but in Elul, i.e. September: for as the temple-tax was collected at the end of the ecclesiastical year, this civil tax was collected at the end of the civil year, i.e. at a time when, the harvest being gathered in, the ability to pay it was the greatest. Besides, as regards the Roman fiscal year, we know that it commenced on the 1st of September, on which account, as is well known, the cycle of Indiction, or fiscal cycle, dated from this day.³ Now, if we look at the parallel passage in John, we find that, immediately after this payment, our Lord prepared to go up to Jerusalem to attend the Feast of Tabernacles, (15th Tisri⁴). Now since this journey must be placed at the commencement of the next section, and the payment of the tax recorded by Matthew (in the middle or end of Elul) at the close of our present section, we see how evident is the agreement of John and Matthew. Conversely, however, by virtue of our synoptical arrangement and on chronological grounds, we may again arrive at the conclusion that the *δίδραχμον* levied in Capernaum cannot be referred to the temple-tax. In fact, chronological considerations have already caused not a few supporters of this view the greatest embarrassment. For instance, Lightfoot (*in loc.*), who in other respects agrees with us in considering our Lord's next journey to Jerusalem as that to the Feast of Tabernacles, holds that either Matthew has misarranged the order of events, or that our Lord and Peter, having been in some way hindered from paying the temple-tax at the proper time, paid it then. Paulus,⁵ among modern expositors, admits the correctness

¹ Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3. 3.

² Bengel, *Ordo Temp.* p. 227, remarks that Petit, *Var. lect.* cap. 18, has shewn that the census was paid in Nisan. But the authorities cited by him contain nothing but the assertion that such was the case, supported by some utterly untenable synoptical combinations.

³ Cf. Savigny's treatise on the Roman system of taxation already quoted, p. 80, and Ideler, *Handb.* ii. p. 347 sq.

⁴ Joh. vii. 1 sq.

⁵ *Ezeg. Handb.*

of Lightfoot's second reason, but erroneously identifies our Lord's next journey to Jerusalem with that to the Feast of Dedication.¹

So far, then, in the first place, as regards the general harmony of the text as a whole. The next point to be determined is the length of our Lord's residence in Galilee indicated by it—a question certainly very easily settled, for its initial and terminal points are fixed by two certain dates, the celebration of two Jewish Feasts: the first by the Feast of Purim (*i.e.* as we have seen, March 19, 782 A.U.C.), immediately after which our Lord set out for Galilee, the last by the Feast of Tabernacles (*σκηνοπηγία*), *i.e.* Tisri 15 = Oct. 12, in the same year. Indeed, this terminal point can be determined with even greater precision, for our Lord, principally as it would appear from fear of the Jews, did not set out so soon as the generality of those who were going up to the feast, and yet went up sufficiently early to be able to go into the Temple in the middle of the Feast.²

CHAPTER II.

THE TEXT, IN DETAIL.

ALTHOUGH the terminal points of this section are so firmly established, it is a work of peculiar difficulty to determine the succession of the particular events narrated by the Synoptists. This is not so much the case, however, in their relation to John as to one another. In accordance with our remarks on the chronological character of the four Gospels, we must base our investigation on the chronological data³ of John on the one hand, and of Luke on the other. If we find that these two Evangelists, who

¹ Joh. x. 22.

² τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσούσης, Joh. vii. 14.

³ Cf. p. 25. It is, however, quite possible that Mark, and even Matthew, in certain individual cases, supply us with more accurate dates than Luke.

undoubtedly wrote in perfect independence of each other, agree in their statements, and even in particulars introduced quite incidentally, of which we have already seen so many striking examples, we can scarcely entertain a doubt of their accuracy. If, however, Matthew and Mark, who perhaps throughout this section, or at least in some particular passages, did not make it their object to write chronologically, join in corroborating their statements, we shall have a still surer warrant for the accuracy of the result arrived at.

Our mode of conducting the enquiry will be as follows:—first, to compare John and Luke together, and then, by the aid of the conclusions thereby attained, to arrange the matter contained in the present section.

A. *Relation between John and Luke.*

We have a very remarkable reciprocal corroboration of the arrangement of events in these two Evangelists in the narrative given by Luke of our Lord's sojourn in Nazareth, to which He betook Himself immediately on His return from Judea after the Feast of Purim.¹ The inhabitants of Nazareth address this challenge to our Lord, ὅσα ἡκούσαμεν γέγονε εἰς Καπερναοὺμ, ποιήσον καὶ ὧδε ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου.² Our Lord had therefore already appeared as a worker of miracles in Capernaum, and His fame had spread to Nazareth. Look now to John's Gospel, and we shall see that this was so, inasmuch as our Lord in his last winter sojourn in Galilee³ had healed

¹ Luke iv. 16—30.

² Luke iv. 23.

³ This was also the first and only miracle wrought by Jesus in Capernaum up to the time of his return to Galilee from the Feast of Purim, Joh. vi. 1 sq. Up to this point John has expressly enumerated the miracles performed by Jesus in Galilee, with the view of shewing that up to His formal rejection by the Jews (Joh. v. 16, 18, cf. vii. 1) His Galilean ministry, and His disposition to reveal Himself there as a worker of miracles, was altogether irregular. This consideration also explains why both the miracles wrought by Him at that time in Galilee—for that case of healing at Capernaum was, as John expressly states, iv. 54, His second miracle (δεύτερον σημ.) in Galilee; His first being the water turned into wine at the marriage of Cana, Joh. iv. 46, ii. 11—were done, as it were, by constraint, and as though forced from Him by the faith of the petitioners. In both cases our Lord expresses,

the nobleman's son in Capernaum;¹ and thus that which can only be inferred from Luke's relation is formally proved by John's supplementary narrative, and in this manner our Lord's sojourn in Nazareth is shewn to be a chronological parallel to His residence in Galilee, Joh. vi. 1 sq. Besides, we learn from Luke² that our Lord on that occasion selected from the Old Testament the passage of Isaiah which speaks of the *ἐνιαυτὸς κυρίου δεκτός*, and added in explanation, "This day³ is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears." Now, if this visit of our Lord to Nazareth is placed on the Sabbath after Purim, March 26, 782 A.U.C., the interval between it and the day of His death, Nisan 15 = Ap. 7, 783 A.U.C., is in fact almost exactly an *ἐνιαυτός*. These words of our Lord, spoken incidentally, also explain why Luke and the other two Synoptists have given special prominence to the events of this single year⁴ of our Lord's ministry. In so doing they have only followed His own words, which expressly pointed out this division of His ministry as *ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν*.

Another conciliatory date is given us in the feeding of the five thousand on the eastern shore of the lake of Gennesareth. It is found in John, ch. vi. 1—15, with the precise date, *ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, in Luke, ch. ix. 10—17. Of the identity of the two relations there cannot be the least doubt, especially if we take into consideration the parallels in the other two Synoptists.⁵ For not only is the fact narrated in a

with sufficient clearness, His original disinclination to help—which, however, certainly proceeded from no obstinate spirit of consistency, which would not give way to any circumstances whatever—saying to His mother, ii. 4, *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ γύναι*; and to the nobleman, *Ἐδὲ μὴ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἴδῃτε οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε*; and on the first occasion adds, *Ὁὕτω ἔκει ἡ ὥρα μου*, *Mine hour*—i.e. to manifest Myself as a worker of miracles, as thou desirest—*is not yet come*. Not long time afterwards, while He was sojourning in Jerusalem, His hour, beyond all controversy, was come, Joh. ii. 23, iii. 2, iv. 45.

¹ Joh. iv. 46.

² Lu. iv. 14.

³ From the earliest times, even as far back as Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, I. p. 339, this expression of our Lord has been employed as a chronological datum. It was, however, a mistake to make it nearly contemporaneous with our Lord's Baptism.

⁴ Cf. p. 200.

⁵ Mar. vi. 30—44, Matt. xiv. 13—21.

perfectly similar way, even to the number of those who were fed, five thousand, and the twelve baskets which were filled with the fragments that remained, but even the locality is exactly the same—a desert, *i.e.* a waste tract, on the eastern shore of the sea of Galilee. It is true, that in one or two quarters a doubt of the identity of the miracle recorded by Luke has been expressed.¹ For he mentions the wilderness of Bethsaida as the place of the miracle.² Now on the hypothesis of the identity of the locality, this Bethsaida must be looked for on the eastern shore of the lake, and must therefore be distinguished from the Bethsaida in Galilee, on the western shore of the same lake, the birthplace of the three Apostles, Peter, Andrew, and Philip.³ And remarkably enough, a second Bethsaida on this eastern shore is really mentioned not merely by Josephus,⁴ but also by Pliny.⁵ It was in the lower Gaulonitis,⁶ and was consequently a portion of the tetrarchy of Philip, by whom it was beautified, and named Julias, in honour of the daughter of the Emperor Augustus.⁷ That this Bethsaida is intended by Luke is further confirmed by the fact that it did not belong to Herod Antipas, who at that time desired to see Jesus,⁸ but to the tetrarch Philip. For with an evident reference to the danger of such an interview, Luke immediately adds,⁹ that Jesus “went aside privately” (*ὑπεχώρησε*) for the sake of security, leaving on the instant the town in Galilee¹⁰ in which he was at that time residing, and which was in Herod's dominions, and went to Bethsaida, which must therefore have been subject to another ruler. The same Bethsaida,¹¹ on the

¹ Cf. Winer, *R. W. B.* “Bethsaida.”

² Lu. ix. 10, cf. 12. An attention to the etymology of the word *בֵּית צִידָה*, Fish-house, shews how easily there may have been two Bethsайдas on the shores of a lake so abounding in fish.

³ Joh. xii. 21, i. 45.

⁴ *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 10. 7.

⁵ *Hist. Nat.* v. 15.

⁶ *Jos. de Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 1.

⁷ *Ant.* xviii. 2. 1.

⁸ Lu. ix. 9.

⁹ Lu. ix. 10.

¹⁰ Capernaum, cf. Lu. viii. 37, 40.

¹¹ Räumler, *Palästina* (Bethsaida); Ebrard, *Wissenschaftl. Kritik*, p. 530 sq. The same Bethsaida is probably intended Mar. vi. 45, although it is generally referred, even by Räumler and Ebrard, to the

eastern shore of the lake, is however also intended, Mar. viii. 22. But not only do the circumstances and

Bethsaida in Galilee. I will not urge in favour of my view that Mark only mentions Bethsaida once again, and that at a brief interval, Mar. viii. 22, and that this must certainly be understood of the town on the eastern bank. On the contrary, I propose to confine myself to Mark, and the immediate parallels, Matt. xiv. 22—36, Joh. vi. 16—21. Immediately before His miraculous walking on the lake, our Lord, according to Mark, was tarrying in “a desert place” on the eastern shore of the lake (vi. 31), and as Luke, with greater precision, adds, in “a desert place belonging to the city of Bethsaida.” Now Mark says, vi. 45, “straightway He constrained His disciples to get into the ship,” *καὶ προάγειν εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιδὰν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἀπολύσῃ τὸν ὄχλον*. Now by this Bethsaida, it is argued, that in Galilee must be intended, since we have to look for it *εἰς τὸ πέραν*, i.e. on the western shore. This interpretation, however, is not the only possible one: for even if Bethsaida is to be included as the object of the verb *προάγειν*, yet *εἰς τὸ πέραν* need only give its general direction, and it might be translated, “Jesus constrained His disciples to go over to the other side, to Bethsaida.” In which case *τὸ πέραν*, on the western shore of the lake, i.e. the *γῆ Γεννησαρέτ*, Mar. vi. 53, would be given as the object of the entire voyage, and Bethsaida as a middle station to which the disciples were to “go before” Him. This, therefore, would still have to be looked for on the eastern shore, or at any rate on the voyage from the “desert place” to the *πέραν*, and therefore could not be the Galilean Bethsaida, but that in the tetrarchy of Philip. The following reasons seem to shew that this interpretation is the correct one. (1) Jesus, remaining behind on the eastern shore, bids His disciples set sail before Him. He must therefore have fixed a place on the eastern shore to which they were to betake themselves. If not, how did our Lord intend to cross the lake? For even if He then purposed to walk across the lake, how could the disciples have conceived the idea beforehand? This place is expressly pointed out by Mark in his graphic manner as Bethsaida, while Matthew, who is less graphic in external detail, all but particularizes the spot, Matt. xiv. 22. Besides, in this connection the verb *προάγειν* contains a reference to a middle station of the voyage, to which they were to precede Him. (2) The narrative itself indicates that the place appointed for the meeting was but a short distance from that where the 5000 were fed. Matthew and Mark record that Jesus bid the disciples go before Him until He had sent the multitudes away. Now this Bethsaida was close by on the eastern shore. Thither, therefore, (prayer also being His object, Mar. vi. 46, Matt. xiv. 23, Joh. vi. 15), was our Lord returning on foot. (3) Mark, further on in his narrative, vi. 53, mentions as the ultimate object of their voyage, not Bethsaida, but in general terms the *γῆ Γεννησαρέτ*, cf. Matt. xiv. 34. John expressly names Capernaum, vi. 17, but to go thither by way of Bethsaida in Galilee, which lay somewhat to the south, would have been a détour. (4) Now Joh. vi. 21 becomes perfectly intelligible. The place where

locality of the narrative fully agree, but the two Synoptists, Mark and Matthew, introduce exactly the same event immediately after this miracle.¹ Now if the feeding recorded Luke ix. 10—17, is identical with that Joh. vi. 1—15, it must, in consequence of what is said Joh. vi. 4, have happened a little before the Passover, Nisan 15, 782 A.U.C. Now since, on the day after, Jesus could enter into the synagogue,² and meetings were not held in the synagogues except on Sabbaths and feast-days, it follows that the day of the miraculous feeding must have been either the 14th or (since in that year the 15th of Nisan fell on a Monday) the 11th of Nisan, inasmuch as the celebration of the Sabbath commenced on the evening of the 12th, a Friday. So far then we have, in any case, discovered a striking confirmation of our statement, that our Lord's residence in Galilee³ completely corresponds to the synoptical section which we have placed parallel to it.

The further question now arises whether Luke's chronology⁴ agrees also in its details with that of John, and whether generally in this section of his Gospel Luke has observed exact chronological order. Such an enquiry may rightly and reasonably be started, since we have been able to fix the initial and terminal points of our section by strict chronological data: the former, or our Lord's sojourn in Nazareth, on the Sabbath after Purim, March 26; the latter, or the miraculous feeding, on the 11th or 14th of Nisan.⁵ This section of Luke's Gospel must consequently embrace a period of about a fortnight.

In instituting this comparison we possess a safe resting-

they landed to take Jesus on board, γῆ εἰς ἣν ὑπῆγον, is Bethsaida Julias. After our Lord, Mar. vi. 51, and Peter with Him, Matt. xiv. 32, had got on board there, the lake became calm, and they sailed together in safety to Capernaum, on its western shore. It follows, therefore, that John breaks off his more detailed description of this voyage after its most important section had been completed (ῥθελον, v. 21, is certainly to be understood "de conatu"). By this description a crowd of pretended contradictions between the Evangelists will be cut off at once.

¹ Mar. vi. 45—53, Matt. xiv. 12—34. Cf. Joh. vi. 16—21.

² Joh. vi. 59.

³ Joh. vi. 1—vii. 1.

⁴ Lu. iv. 14—ix. 17.

⁵ April 14 or 17.

point in the *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*,¹ and the *ἕτερον σάββ.*² For, as we have already seen,³ the one corresponds to Nisan 6, *i.e.* April 9, the other to the following day, Nisan 7, *i.e.* April 10. If then Luke, as he himself says, writes *καθεξῆς*, his narrative must, on the one hand, embrace an interval of fourteen days from our Lord's preaching in the synagogue at Nazareth, to this second-first Sabbath;⁴ and on the other, the period recorded Lu. vi. 12—ix. 17, *i.e.* up to the day of the Feeding of the Five Thousand,—which, as shewn above, cannot have been later than Nisan 14,—must be placed between the 7th and 14th of Nisan. The correctness of the first proposition has been already generally demonstrated;⁵ additional light, however, will be thrown upon it, as well as on the second, by a comparison between Mark and Luke. With regard to the second proposition, a preliminary proof of its correctness may be gathered from the following considerations. Lu. vi. 12—vii. 10, is one day. On the next day⁶ occurred the events recorded Lu. vii. 11—50. Immediately afterwards, *ἐν τῇ καθεξῆς*, those Lu. viii. 1—21. On one of the days⁷ (*ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν*) those Lu. viii. 22—56. Consequently Lu. vi. 12—viii. 56 includes four days, and it is clear that with seven complete days we have enough for the requirements of the period.⁸

This section presents us with a fresh parallel, found in all the four Gospels, in Peter's decided, joyful confession, when many were wavering and forsaking Jesus, that He was "the Christ, the Son of the living God."⁹ The period of this genuine expression of apostolical feeling is given by all the Evangelists with complete unanimity. It is

¹ Lu. vi. 1.² Lu. vi. 6.³ p. 234.⁴ Lu. iv. 14—v. 39.⁵ p. 234.⁶ *ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς*, Lu. vii. 11.⁷ Mark has in the parallel passage, iv. 35, *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐρίας γενομένης*.⁸ Lu. vi. 12—ix. 17.⁹ Joh. vi. 68, 69. Cf. Matt. xvi. 16, Mar. viii. 29, Lu. ix. 20. I should add, that the surname *Πέτρος* was not, even according to Matthew, first given to Simon on this occasion. He is called by this name in previous chapters of this Gospel, iv. 18, viii. 14, x. 2, xiv. 28, and the expression in v. 18 is not *σὺ κληθῆσθαι Πέτρος*, but *σὺ εἶ Πέτρος*. On the contrary, as we learn from Joh. i. 43, he received this honourable surname on his first call.

placed after the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the date of which we have already fixed, and before the Feast of Tabernacles, for which our Lord went up to Jerusalem.¹ But since it is not introduced in any of the Evangelists with any direct² determination of time, we shall have hereafter to investigate whether, and how far, it may be possible to obtain a more precise date for it from a comparison of the several Evangelical accounts.

In conclusion, we have another remarkable correspondence between the Gospels in their representation of the mode in which the Apostles were, as it were step by step, prepared for their office. The apostolical character was no sudden magical creation. First, we have a record of their calling, which was brought about by several different circumstances, especially by the Baptist's directing their attention to the Messiah, and to Jesus as that Messiah.³ Then, after the Baptist's imprisonment, they were set apart as the constant companions of Jesus.⁴ And finally, at a still later period, not quite eight days before the Passover of 782 A.U.C., twelve of them were finally chosen Apostles.⁵ It deserves special notice that in the whole section, Joh. i. 19—v. 47, the Evangelist has not once used any expression taking the existence of the Apostles for granted, but instead thereof the more general term, *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*. The expression *οἱ δώδεκα*, by which John indicates the Apostles, occurs for the first time, Joh. vi. 67, *i.e.* in the section which describes His ministry in Galilee, which runs parallel with the Synoptists. This is also subsequent to the Feeding of the Five Thousand, which John has also recorded, *i.e.* at a time when the Apostles are certainly mentioned by the Synoptists as already chosen. How thoroughly undesignated are such expressions, and yet how great is the internal unity they display!

¹ Joh. vii. 2 sq.

² *ἐκ τούτου*, Joh. vi. 66, does not signify "at that time," but "after that." But the parallel passages in Mark and Matthew render it clear that Lu. ix. 18 sq. must not be joined on immediately to Lu. ix. 17, but that Mar. vi. 56—viii. 26, Matt. xiv. 22—xvi. 12 must be interpolated.

³ Joh. i. 35—52.

⁴ Lu. v. 1—11, Mar. i. 16—20, Matt. iv. 18—22, Lu. v. 27—29, Mar. ii. 13—15, Matt. ix. 9, 10.

⁵ Lu. vi. 12—16, Mar. iii. 13—19, Matt. x. 2—4.

This, then, is the result of our investigation :—Whenever the Evangelist John in his Galilean section¹ narrates anything in common with Luke or the Synoptists (nor does he record any particular fact in which the points of connection with these last cannot be proved), the harmony between them is remarkable, while by his aid the section Lu. iv. 14—ix. 17 can be proved to be arranged in chronological order.

*B. Arrangement of the Synoptical Narrative of this Section
by means of John and Luke.*

The passages of the Synoptists which we have now to compare and arrange are, as we have already pointed out, the following: Lu. iv. 14—ix. 50, Mar. i. 14—ix. 50, Matt. iv. 12—xviii. 35.

A most able treatise on this portion of our subject, which has not met with the attention it deserves, appeared from the pen of the well-known critic and philologist Lachmann, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1835,² under the title *De Ordine narrationum in Evang. Synopt.* With all its acuteness Lachmann's investigation has failed of the certainty and precision which we think the subject admits of, if the synoptical sections are not treated merely by themselves, but in connection with the chronological systems of the Gospel history as a whole, and our examination is not confined to the circle of the Synoptists strictly so called, but includes the corresponding sections of John's Gospel. In consequence of the mode he adopted, as well as of certain settled critical *à priori* views on the origin of the Gospels, his conclusions could be expected only to refer to the succession of the events as they stood in the primitive Gospel tradition, while our object, here as everywhere, is to determine their actual order of succession. Ebrard has given an excellent review of the most important attempts at the solution of this problem.³ His own solution, which he proceeds to give, at great length (pp. 76—174), is open to the objections urged by us above (p. 25), and therefore naturally proves unsatisfactory.

¹ Joh. vi.—vii. 1.

² Vol. III. pp. 570 sq.

³ *Wissenschaftl. Kritik*, pp. 70—75.

The most superficial consideration proves that all the points of difference in the arrangement of events in the three Evangelists are to be found in the section preceding the Feeding of the Five Thousand.¹ Now, since this section, as narrated by Luke, has been already subjected to a searching chronological examination resulting in the establishment of its chronological character, not only from the nature of the Gospel itself, but also from that of John, which was written in entire independence of it, we may justly feel ourselves entitled to employ that which is already known and vouched for, to establish and arrange the unknown and unvouched for, and make use of Luke's narrative to examine and arrange that of the other two Synoptists, which furnish such an infinite number of points of contact. In treating, then, of this most difficult section, we shall adopt the course of first completing the comparative examination between Luke and Mark, as being the easiest, and then, and not till then, that between Matthew on the one side, and Luke, or rather, John, Mark, and Luke, on the other. On the contrary, when we come to the narrative succeeding the Feeding of the Five Thousand, we shall at once proceed to treat of all four Gospels together.

¹ Lu. ix. 10—17, parall.

1. *Examination of the Succession of Events in the Section Mar. i. 14—vi. 44. Matt. iv. 12—xiv. 11, based on Lu. iv. 14—ix. 17.*

(A) *Examination of Mar. i. 14—vi. 44, based on Lu. iv. 14—ix. 17.*

	LUKE.	MAR.	NOTE OF TIME.	NOTE OF PLACE.	CONTENTS.
1.	iv. 14.	i. 14—15.	Μετα τὸ παραδοθῆναι. Cf. Luke iii. 20.	Journey to Galilee.	Jesus visits Galilee to teach there.
2.	iv. 15—30.	Wanting.	ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τ. σαββ., ἐναντίος τοῦ κυρ. δεκτός.	Ναζαρετ οὐ ἦν τετραμμένος.	He teaches in the synagogue of Nazareth, and is forced to flee.
3 a.	iv. 31—37.	i. 21—23.	ἐν τοῖς σάββασι.	Capernaum.	He teaches in the synagogue at Capernaum, and heals a demoniac.
3 b.	iv. 38—44.	i. 29—39.	ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς.	Peter's house.	He heals Peter's wife's mother.
3 c.	v. 1—11.	i. 16—20.	No express note of time.	λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ.	Call of four Apostles.
4.	v. 12—16.	i. 40—45.	.....	Λυκὲ, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων.	Healing of a leper.
5.	v. 17—26.	ii. 1—12.	Λυκὲ, ἐν μιᾷ τ. ἡμερ. ἡμερῶν.	Μαρκ, Καπερναοῦμ.	Healing of a paralytic.
6.	v. 27—39.	ii. 13—22.	Λυκὲ, μετὰ ταῦτα.	Μαρκ, παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν.	Call of Levi the publican, and the consequent discourse.
7.	vi. 1—5.	i. 23—38.	Λυκὲ, ἐν σαββ. δευτέρου.	διὰ τῶν σπορίμων.	The disciples pluck ears of corn.
8.	vi. 6—11.	iii. 1—6.	Λυκὲ, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ σαββ. ἐν τοῖς σάββασι.	συναγωγῇ.	Healing of the withered hand.
9 a.	vi. 12—19.	iii. 7—19. (Addition. iii. 20—30.) Cf. Luke xi. 14 sq.	Λυκὲ, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέρ. ταύτ.	τὸ ὄρος. Μαρκ, εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.	Setting apart of the Twelve.
9 b.	vi. 20—49.	Wanting.	.....	.....	Sermon on the Mount.
10.	vii. 1—10.	"	ὅσκι ἐπλήρωσε πάντ. τὰ ρήμ. αὐτοῦ.	εἰσηλθεν εἰς Καπερναοῦμ.	Healing of the centurion's servant.
11 a.	vii. 11—17.	"	ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς.	Ναὺν.	Raising of the widow's son.

Now, taking the preceding tabular view as the starting-point of our investigation, we will next enquire whether, and in what degree, the two Evangelists agree in their arrangement of the several events. And if the result of this investigation should be that the succession of events in Mark is essentially the same as that in Luke, it will follow that his Gospel is also arranged chronologically, and we shall perhaps be enabled by his help to fix the chronology of the present section with still greater precision.

On comparing the narratives of the two Evangelists, we find that their agreement is as complete, both as to facts, time, and place, as could fairly be expected from two different narrators. The variations are only such as furnish supplementary particulars, or more minute details, and are not therefore contradictions, but welcome amplifications of the historical ground-work of facts. For example, the following passages of Luke, which are found in his Gospel alone, either absolutely, or when compared with that of Mark, are of a supplementary character. (2) Our Lord's sojourn in Nazareth immediately after His return from Judea.¹ (9*b*) The sermon on the mount after the selection of the twelve.² (10) The healing of the centurion's servant. (11) The raising of the widow's son at Nain; the Baptist's enquiry; the δειπνον at the house of Simon the Pharisee. So also these in Mark. (12*a*) An addition given by Mark alone.³ And (16) A sojourn of our Lord at Nazareth, given by him in common with Matthew, Mar. vi. 1—6. Matt. xiii. 51—58. All these narratives can be introduced into the other Gospel respectively with perfect ease, as indeed has been already done in the foregoing table, without in the least disturbing the ruling arrangement of events. As regards statements of time or place in one which give greater precision to the narrative of the other, we find such in Luke in 2, 11, 12*a*, 19; in Mark in 3*a*, 5, 6, 12*a*, 13, 16, of the foregoing table. And yet, with this general agreement on the whole, there are one or two passages which seem to present some real

¹ Lu. iv. 16—30.² Lu. vi. 20—49.³ Lu. iv. 26—29.

difficulty. There are, first, those passages of Mark which are differently placed by Luke in this section: (3) Mar. i. 16—20. Cf. Lu. v. 1—11. (12b) Mar. iii. 31—35. Cf. Lu. viii. 19—21. (2) and (16) Mar. vi. 1—6. Cf. Lu. iv. 16—30, if, as some maintain, the reference is to the same sojourn of our Lord in Nazareth. And then, secondly, those which Luke does not, or seems not to present till after the close of this section (*i.e.* after Lu. ix. 17): viz. Mar. iii. 20—30. Cf. Lu. xi. 14—23. Mar. iv. 30—32. Cf. Lu. xiii. 18, 19.

First, as regards Mar. vi. 1—6:¹ if, as we justly may, we attach no special weight to the fact that on each occasion our Lord entered into the synagogue on the Sabbath-day, and there met with opposition, though certainly in a very different degree, there is absolutely nothing in favour of the identity of this sojourn of Jesus in Nazareth with that recorded Lu. iv. 15—30, beyond His having on each occasion applied to Himself the proverb of a prophet having no honour in his own *πατρίς*.² But why was this unlikely, since on each occasion the perfect propriety of its application was proved by the circumstances? It is, however, in fact, somewhat modified the second time of its use, Mar. vi. 4; where besides the *πατρίς*, the *συγγενεῖς* and the *οἰκία αὐτοῦ* are mentioned, as if it was our Lord's purpose at the same time to account for the extraordinary fact that even His brethren, who on this account are only mentioned in this place,³ did not believe on Him.⁴ It is true that our Lord, on the occasion of the sojourn at Nazareth mentioned by Luke, was threatened with death, and was compelled to flee to Capernaum; but why should that forbid His renewing the attempt to preach there after three weeks so full of important events? How frequently did our Lord visit Jerusalem, where the danger was infinitely greater! Everything else speaks most decidedly for these being different events, while, as we have already remarked with regard to Luke's account of His visit to Nazareth,⁵ their notes of time harmonize in a

¹ Cf. Matt. xiii. 54—58.

² Mar. vi. 4, Matt. xiii. 57. Cf. Lu. iv. 24.

³ Mar. vi. 3, parall.

⁴ Mar. iii. 21, 31. Cf. Joh. vii. 5.

⁵ p. 267.

remarkable manner with the chronology of the Gospels. And lastly, Matthew himself¹ speaks not only of an earlier but also of a later sojourn at Nazareth,² and that at the precise time that Luke places the one recorded by him.

We will now consider the apparent contradiction between Mar. i. 16—20 and Lu. v. 1—11. In the passage just discussed we have seen that there is in fact no discrepancy between the two Evangelists, since they are really relating two separate events. This mode of solution, however, will hardly apply here. I, at least, am convinced of the identity of the two narratives, inasmuch as they record on the whole the same fact, Luke being only somewhat fuller, and that fact, no less than the call of some of the leading Apostles and their admission to permanent companionship with our Lord, a fact which from its very nature could scarcely be repeated in relation to the same persons, in the same place, and at the same time. But even if we were to allow a more real discrepancy, the difference in the argument would be very trivial, for it would be no more than this, that the call placed by Mark immediately *before*³ our Lord's preaching in the synagogue at Capernaum, and the healing of Peter's wife's mother which succeeded on the same day, would perhaps, according to Luke, have to be placed just *after* these events, and therefore from one to two days later. However, since Luke has not added any express note of time to his narrative,⁴ we may very readily imagine that, with the view of contrasting more directly our Lord's preaching in the synagogue at Capernaum with that at Nazareth, and their different results, he has narrated that at Capernaum first,⁵ appending to it our Lord's visit to Simon's house,⁶ and then has gone back to the call of Simon and the other Apostles

¹ It is possible that in the words of our Lord, *πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς*, Mar. i. 15, we have an allusion to those uttered by Him at that time in the synagogue of Nazareth, *σήμερον πεπλήρωται ἡ γραφή αὕτη ἐν τοῖς ὡσὶν ὑμῶν*, Lu. iv. 21. At any rate, the date and the meaning of both expressions are pretty nearly the same.

² Matt. iv. 13.

³ *εὐθέως*, Mar. i. 21.

⁴ Lu. v. 1.

⁵ Lu. iv. 31—37. Mark could not do this, as he has entirely omitted our Lord's visit to the synagogue of Nazareth.

⁶ Lu. iv. 38—43.

who were called with him,¹ in order finally to proceed with his narrative with Lu. v. 12 ff.; so that, chronologically, Lu. v. 12 comes immediately after ch. iv. 43. This connection also appears to be indicated in the text of Luke,² if we compare Lu. iv. 43, *ὅτι καὶ ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι με δεῖ τὴν βασιλ. τ. θεοῦ*,³ with v. 12, *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων*. For in the latter passage our Lord does no more than carry out what in the former He had declared to be His intention. This, too, is certainly the connection between Mar. i. 38 and ii. 1. But there will be still less room for doubting the correctness of this method of accommodation, if we accept the primitive tradition that Mark was a disciple of Peter's. For if he really stood in this close relationship to Peter, his express statements as to the precise relation in which his call stood to the circumstances immediately connected with it—circumstances, be it observed, in which Peter was specially concerned—would demand our greatest deference.

But what is the case with the last narrative affected by the arrangement of events in this section? (Mar. iii. 31—35. Cf. Lu. viii. 19—21.) The difference between the Evangelists is here, too, very slight; indeed no more than that according to Mark the mother and brethren of our Lord came to seek Him, and led to the utterance of His figurative words immediately *before* He began to speak in parables,⁴ according to Luke immediately *after*. Now, if we assume (which indeed is expressly confirmed by Matthew,⁵ *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ*) that the coming of His mother and brethren and the delivery of these parables took place on one and the same day, even this discrepancy is done away. The reason of Luke's postponing his mention of the coming of our Lord's relations till a later period, though without expressly defining the time, appears to be that he omits to record in this place the discourse of our Lord which was interrupted by their arrival, and with

¹ Lu. v. 1—11.

² The introductory passage, Lu. iv. 15, appears to indicate that the different occasions of our Lord's ministry in the synagogue have been intentionally brought together by Luke.

³ Cf. Mar. i. 38.

⁴ Mar. iv. 1—25.

⁵ Matt. xiii. 1.

which Mark and Matthew both connect it,¹ the motive for this omission being that it is found later on in his Gospel.²

This brings us to the second point, that within the limits of the present section Mark has two passages containing discourses which are not found in Luke till after ch. ix. 17. Now, I have no intention of denying that the chronology of our Lord's discourses, and indeed of all individual discourses, is very difficult to settle: indeed the problem, taken in perfect strictness, is one which on account of the nature of the Gospel narrative which has reached us, especially that of Matthew which contains the largest number of these discourses, it will perhaps be impossible ever to solve. And this admits of a very easy explanation: for their authors, when communicating these discourses generally, must have deemed it far less important to give the exact time when, and the place where they were uttered, than to give their internal connection, and to express each member of the thought, and the thought as a whole, with the utmost truth and fidelity. Indeed, it would have been possible for them, as certainly no reasonable man would *à priori* deny, to have given us an adequate and faithful representation of the thoughts, views, and principles enunciated by our Lord in His discourses, even though they furnished us with no materials for the accurate arrangement of His words recorded by them, according to the time and place of their delivery. These remarks, however, scarcely affect the present case, for the discrepancy between Mark and Luke in their arrangement of our Lord's discourses is in reality of next to no moment; for Mark gives but few of them. When we come, however, to compare the parallel passages of Matthew and Luke it will assume greater importance, and be more fertile in results.

With regard to the two discourses which we have spoken of as arranged differently by the two Evangelists, the discrepancy admits of a very easy solution if we assume that in the first case³ the passage is arranged by

¹ Mar. iii. 20—30, Matt. xii. 22—32.

² Lu. xi. 14—23. Cf. xii. 10.

³ Mar. iv. 30—32. Cf. Lu. xiii. 18, 19.

Mark according to the connection of events, and by Luke according to order of time, and that in the second case,¹ though the form of expression has apparently been assimilated, the words were in substance uttered by our Lord on two different occasions. Certainly the occasion of this discourse, the charge brought against our Lord by His enemies among the Pharisees, that He cast out devils by Beelzebub, was one which must frequently have recurred in the life of Jesus. Matthew, indeed, himself records it twice.²

Having thus minutely discussed the relation of Mark and Luke in the present section, and firmly established the chronological character of the former, we will proceed to combine the chronological statements supplied by them both, in order on the one hand to prove their harmony in particulars, and on the other, to determine in this manner, it may be, even the very day and hour when certain prominent events took place. Language of this kind may at first sound somewhat bold, but those who have acquiesced in our line of proof up to this point will hardly feel surprised at our employing it. For this is no more than the necessary consequence of the results we have arrived at concerning the chronological nature of the narrative in the present section, as given by Luke and Mark, that is, of its initial and terminal points. For as we have seen that the section commences with our Lord's preaching in Nazareth³ on the Sabbath after the Feast of Purim, i.e. the 21st of Veadar = March 26, and closes with the Feeding of the Five Thousand,⁴ at latest the 14th of Nisan = April 17, the entire section includes no more than about three weeks. But the more closely the events are packed in the section now under consideration, and the briefer the section itself, and the more fully it is provided with notes of time, the more plainly will it indicate whether Luke and Mark have here adopted a chronological order of arrangement, and also whether we have interpreted its chronology correctly. Besides, this rapid and close succession of events will be at once intelligible, if attention is paid to the following considerations—*first*, that this portion of our

¹ Mar. iii. 20—30, Lu. xi. 14—23.

² Matt. ix. 34, xii. 22 sq.

³ Lu. iv. 15.

⁴ Lu. ix. 10—17.

Lord's ministry coincided exactly with the few days immediately preceding the Passover, a time when, on account of the peculiar susceptibility of the people from so holy a festival being near at hand, we may imagine that He exerted Himself to the utmost,—and *secondly* and chiefly, that just at this time one of the most important of the Saviour's works took place, viz. the appointment¹ and sending forth² of the twelve Apostles. This must certainly have not only caused a period, already of the deepest significance, to gain in a very marked degree in significance and in richness of events, but also, since we must regard these same Apostles as the chief transmitters of the Gospel history,³ and that with feelings of most thankful remembrance, must have ensured the lasting continuance of a deep interest in the events of this section in the Christian Church. We may remark in passing, that the fulness of detail in the narrative of the first call of several of the Apostles⁴ may be explained on the same, and the minute account of our Lord's Passion, on, at any rate, similar grounds. And with these preliminary observations we will proceed to the execution of our design.

We divide the present section,⁵ subsequently to the definitely fixed *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*,⁶ i.e. the 6th of Nisan = April 9th, 782 A.U.C., into two parts, one corresponding to Lu. iv. 16—vi. 5, Mar. i. 16—ii. 28; the other to Lu. vi. 6—ix. 17, Mar. iii. 1—vi. 64.

Now, if we take a closer view of the period contained in the first division, we find both the Evangelists mentioning the occurrence of another Sabbath⁷ on which our Lord taught in the synagogue at Capernaum and healed the epileptic. This was therefore on the 28th of Veadar = April 21. A little before, i.e. at the close of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, He had called the four Apostles,⁸ on the Lake of Gennesareth.⁹ On this same Sabbath also, He healed the mother-in-law of Peter in his house at Capernaum.¹⁰

¹ Lu. vi. 13—16, parall.

³ Lu. i. 2.

⁵ See the Table, No. 7.

⁷ Lu. iv. 31, Mar. i. 21.

⁹ Mar. i. 16—20, Lu. v. 1—11.

¹⁰ Lu. iv. 38, 39, Mar. i. 29, 30.

² Lu. ix. 1—6, parall.

⁴ Joh. i. 19—ii. 11.

⁶ Lu. vi. 1.

⁸ Cf. p. 279.

When the sun went down,¹ i.e. about six o'clock in the evening, the sick were brought from all parts to Jesus, and He healed them.² On the following day, Sunday, April 3, very early in the morning, our Lord betook Himself to a solitary place, and formed the resolution of journeying to the neighbouring villages, and making known the Gospel there.³ On this journey He healed the leper.⁴ Then, after some days,⁵ He returned to Capernaum, where the occurrences recorded Mar. ii. 1—12, Lu. v. 17—26 took place. Then by the side of the lake,⁶ He called the custom-house officer Levi, surnamed Matthew, the son of Alphæus, and dined at his house.⁷ This took place shortly before the "second-first" Sabbath on which the ears of corn were plucked, i.e. a little before the 6th of Nisan = April 9th.⁸

We have now arrived at the second half of our section,⁹ which includes the time from the "second-first" Sabbath to the "Feeding of the Five Thousand." The time of the next recorded event, the healing of the withered hand on "another Sabbath,"¹⁰ may be determined, at least as far as the day is concerned. This "other Sabbath" corresponds with the 7th of Nisan = April 10th.¹¹ All, then, that is recorded by Luke and Mark between this healing and the Feeding of the Five Thousand, must be placed between the 7th of Nisan = April 10th, and the 15th of Nisan = April 18th; since the "Feeding," according to Joh. vi. 4, took place before the Passover (15th of Nisan), and only a short time before it (ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα).

In this period of our Lord's ministry there can only have been one Sabbath. And it is the fact that in this portion of the evangelical narrative only one Sabbath is recorded, viz. that on which¹² our Lord taught for the

¹ Lu. iv. 40, Mar. i. 32, "at the going down of the sun:" because the Sabbath was then over, the "rest" of which might not be broken by such "work."

² Lu. iv. 40, 41, Mar. i. 32—34.

³ Lu. iv. 42—44, Mar. i. 35—39.

⁴ Mar. i. 40—45, Lu. v. 12—16. ⁵ δι' ἡμερῶν, Mar. ii. 1.

⁶ Mar. ii. 13. ⁷ Mar. ii. 18—22, Lu. v. 27—39.

⁸ Lu. vi. 1—5, Mar. ii. 23—28.

⁹ Lu. vi. 6—ix. 17, Mar. iii. 1—vi. 44.

¹⁰ Lu. vi. 6—11, Mar. iii. 1—6. ¹¹ Cf. p. 234.

¹² Mar. vi. 1—6.

second time in the synagogue of Nazareth, His paternal city. This must be placed on the 13th of Nisan = April 16th. Then too, and that suitably enough, as it was a Sabbath, and shortly before the feast, our Lord sent forth the twelve to exercise their ministry independently.¹ At that time Herod Antipas sought to see Jesus,² because He was continually hearing more and more of the fame of His ministry, and believed that in Him the Baptist had risen from the dead.³ On the return of the Apostles, which must have happened on the 14th of Nisan = April 17th, towards evening, about the time when the Paschal lamb was eaten in Jerusalem, our Lord fed the five thousand on the eastern shore of the lake near Bethsaida.⁴ Again, we find John expressly agreeing with our conclusion that the "Feeding" took place on the 14th of Nisan, where he states⁵ that our Lord delivered a discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum on the day after the "Feeding,"⁶ i.e. the 15th of Nisan. For this day, which was regarded as a Sabbath, was celebrated out of Jerusalem by an assembly of the people in the synagogue.⁷ Supposing our conclusion is correct, that our Lord's discourse in the synagogue at Capernaum was delivered on the first day of the Passover, a welcome light would be thrown on the words there used by Him, which treat of eating His flesh and drinking His blood.

We have now only the events of the portion Mar. iii. 7—v. 43, Lu. vi. 12—viii. 56, to fix chronologically. What has gone before will shew that these must be placed between the other Sabbath, the 7th of Nisan = April 10th, and the Sabbath on the 13th of Nisan = April 16th, when our Lord was in Nazareth. We have already seen that this portion embraces about four days.⁸ The distribution of the several days must have been as follows. On the fourth day before the 13th of Nisan, i.e. on the 9th of Nisan = April 12th, our Lord ordained the twelve,⁹ delivered

¹ Mar. vi. 7—13, Lu. ix. 1—5.

² Lu. ix. 9.

³ Lu. ix. 7—9, Mar. vi. 14—29.

⁴ Lu. ix. 10—17, Mar. vi. 30—44.

⁵ Joh. vi. 22—59.

⁶ τῇ ἐπαύριον.

⁷ Ex. xii. 16, Lev. xxiii. 6, 7, Deut. xxviii. 18.

⁸ Cf. p. 234.

⁹ Lu. vi. 12—19, Mar. iii. 9—19.

the so-called "Sermon on the Mount,"¹ and healed the centurion's servant.² On the following day³ He went to Nain, raised the widow's son, received the message of the Baptist, and dined with Simon the Pharisee.⁴ Immediately after this,⁵ He departed with the twelve, entered into a house⁶ by the lake.⁷ And here and on the lake, on the 11th of Nisan = April 14th, occurred all that is recorded.⁸ On the evening of this day⁹ He passed over the lake during a storm, healed the possessed in the district of the Gadarenes, and after having returned back again over the lake healed the woman with an issue of blood, and raised Jairus' daughter.¹⁰ These events took place partly on the 12th of Nisan = April 15th, a Friday, and it is certainly remarkable enough, though quite what might be expected, that we find our Lord the next Sabbath, on the 13th of Nisan, in the synagogue at Nazareth.

It results from this calculation that the execution of the Baptist is to be placed in the month Nisan, and some days before the Passover. This conclusion may, however, be arrived at also in the following way, from the narratives of the event contained in the Gospels,¹¹ and thus receive fresh confirmation. According to Mar. vi. 21, Matt. xiv. 6, the Baptist was beheaded at a festival, the *γενέσια* of Antipas. Now if we could fix the date of this *γενέσια*, we should also know the day of the Baptist's death. All here depends on the right understanding of the term *γενέσια*. The expositors are divided into two classes, the one, as Fritzsche, De Wette, Meyer, Olshausen, Kühnöl, interpret the word of the birthday—the other (at present, only Paulus), of the day of Antipas' accession. We are unacquainted with the day of Antipas' birth; that of his accession may be determined, since we know the date of the death of his father and predecessor Herod the Great.

¹ Lu. vi. 20—49.

² Lu. vii. 1—10.

³ ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς, Lu. vii. 11.

⁴ Lu. vii. 11—50.

⁵ ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, Lu. viii. 1.

⁶ Mar. iii. 20—31.

⁷ Mar. iv. 1. Cf. Matt. xiii. 1.

⁸ Mar. iii. 20—iv. 34, Lu. viii. 1—21.

⁹ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ὅπῃς γενομένης, Mar. iv. 35.

¹⁰ Mar. iv. 35—v. 43, Lu. viii. 22—56

¹¹ Mar. vi. 17—29, Matt. xiv. 3—12.

To prove that the birthday is here intended it is asserted that this is the only signification of *γενέσια* which can be justified on philological grounds. But if we look to classical usage¹ there is no question that the birthday is not called *γενέσια*, but *γενέθλια*. *Γενέσια* had, on the contrary, the signification of an anniversary of a death; a meaning, if we regard the etymological force of the word, based on the view of death as a second birth. This difference of usage in two words, which originally had nearly the same meaning, "belonging to birth or origin," can only be deduced from the necessity of distinguishing between the celebration of birth in a real and a figurative sense. Thus the celebration of physical birth came to be called *γενέθλια*, that of the spiritual birth in death *γενέσια*. In later writers, however, *γενέσια* certainly appears as the festival of natural birth. Thus the LXX. translate *בְּיִמְמָתָהּ*,² by *ἡμέρα γενέσεως*, and Josephus,³ *ἡ γενέσιος ἡμέρα*.⁴ The word *γενέσια* itself⁵ appears in the same sense in Alciphron,⁶ a writer at the commencement of the fourth century, A.D. On the other hand, the birthday of Antiochus Epiphanes in its true sense is called *ἡ γενέθλιος ἡμέρα*. If, then, *γενέσια* was not originally employed according to Greek usage in the exclusive meaning of a birthday feast in its ordinary natural sense, and if, on the contrary, it

¹ Cf. Stephan. *Thes. sub voc. γενέσια*. Phryn. p. 113: *γενέσια οὐκ ὀρθῶς τίθεται ἐπὶ τῆς γενεθλίου ἡμέρας, γενέσια γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἑορτή. λέγειν οὐ δεῖ τὰς γενεθλίου ἡμέρας, ἢ γενέθλια*, ubi Lobeck: eodem modo apud Suidam *Etymol. et Gramm. MS. in Biblioth. Coisl. p. 470* (add. Schol. *Plat. p. 388*). *Γενέθλια ἢ δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπιφοιτῶσα τοῦ τεχθέντος ἑορτή, γενέσια δὲ ἢ δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐπιφοιτῶσα τοῦ τεχθέντος* (death regarded as a second birth) *μνήμη*, nisi quidem in *Etym. in secundo articulo τοῦ τεχθέντος* omittitur, etc. Cf. Bähr, *Herodot. iv. 16*

² Gen. xl. 20.

³ *Antiq. xii. 4. 7.*

⁴ In Philo, *de Opific. Mundi*, p. 21, according to the MSS. we should read *γενέθλιον*.

⁵ Of the examples adduced from Dion Cassius, that at any rate from xlvii. 18 appears to be to the point, according to which Cæsar's *γενέσια* was celebrated during his lifetime. But even here the idea is that of the festival of one departed; since, as appears a little before, even during Cæsar's lifetime he was in a spirit of adulation regarded, according to the pagan notion of the worship of genii, as one departed, as a spirit of a higher order.

⁶ *iii. 18 and 55.*

came to be used of a birthday in the spiritual sense, i.e. of the anniversary of a death, we do not see why it may not have come to be used for the anniversary of an accession, which was really regarded as a new birth, just as well as for that of a physical birth (γενέθλια), to which it was later applied. Indeed, this last named sense would really be more in accordance with the classical usage than the former, since γενέσια would still have a symbolical meaning. Besides, it may be easily proved that the accession of a king was regarded as a second birth. Even in the Old Testament the anniversary of this day is called יום מלכותו.¹ The image of a birth of this kind underlies the well-known passage Ps. ii. 7, where the Messiah is contemplated as the Son of God by virtue of His anointing. The Romans also celebrated the day of their Emperors' accession, which, to distinguish it from other "natales," (e.g. "adoptionis," and those of natural birth,) was designated "natalis imperii."² Even Fritzsche, who is the most thorough supporter of the opposite view, does not deny that γενέσια could have been employed for the anniversary of the accession, but he thinks that in this case some such addition as τῆς βασιλείας must have been made, since the reader would otherwise naturally think only of the birthday of Antipas. This objection, however, starts from the unproved premiss that Antipas celebrated several "natales," which had to be distinguished from one another: while on the contrary, we can produce a thoroughly analogous example which proves just the reverse. Pliny,³ addressing Trajan, speaks of "natalis tuus," meaning⁴ not as this canon of Fritzsche's would lead us to presume, Trajan's birthday, but the day on which he entered on his joint rule with Nerva. We see from Cod. D, where we find γενεθλίοις, that the use of γενέσια by the Evangelists in the sense of birthday festivals had excited some objections. But perhaps, after all, since a festival celebrated by

¹ Hos. vii. 5.

² Mamertin. *Genethliac. Maximian. Aug.* c. 1. Spartian, *vita Hadriani Cæsaris*, c. 4. Eumen. in *Panegyric. Constantin. Aug.* c. 2. Cf. Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 79. Plin. *Epist.* x. 61. On this use of *natalis* cf. Schwarz, *Plin. Panegy.* p. 474 and 570.

³ *Panegy.* c. 82.

⁴ Cf. Schwarz' discussion, l. c.

the Jews is in question, a consideration of the *usus loquendi* of Jewish writers will supply the most decisive argument. Now Paulus in his *Exeg. Hdbch.* cites several passages from the Talmud in which *γενέσια* is expressly mentioned, one of which¹ is fully sufficient to prove our view, ואלו אידיהם של עביום קלנדא וכטרנורא וקרמיסים ויום ננוסיא של מלכים ויום הלידה ויום המיתה: "And these are the festivals of the Gentiles, the Kalends, and the Saturnalia, and the day of accession to power,² and the day of a king's accession, and the anniversary of a birth, and of a death." The anniversary of a king's accession is mentioned here together with the birthday, יום הלידה, *γενέθλια*, but is specified as *יום ננוסיא*, *γενέσια*. I believe, therefore, that on philological grounds alone we must understand the *γενέσια* of Antipas of the anniversary of his accession to the throne.³

We will now proceed to the proofs supplied by the facts of the case. Now, since our only choice is whether we will interpret the *γενέσια* of Antipas of the anniversary of his birth, or of his accession to the throne, we must give the preference to that, the observance of which would, from its novelty, give the least offence to the Jews of the time. That a dynasty such as that of the Herods, new, foreign, and at no time popular, should have paid the utmost possible regard to the prepossession of their subjects, especially in the arrangement of festivals, is at least *à priori* probable. This motive will explain many of the actions of the crafty Herod the Great, *e.g.* his restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem. Besides, the fox-like character of Antipas is brought prominently forward by our Lord Himself,⁴ and it is expressly said,⁵ that in the matter of the Baptist, "he feared the people." Now, the writings of the

¹ *Avoda Sara*, i. 3.

² Pliny, *l. c.*, furnishes us with an example of the celebration of such a day in the life of Trajan.

³ [Wieseler, in his *Beiträge*, gives a quotation in confirmation of his identification of *γενέσια* with the day of accession from the Gemara (fol. 10. 1). "Quid sunt *γενέσια*? Respondit R. Judas per hunc intelligi diem quo constituunt seu creant regem." The latest and best authorities interpret *γενέσια* of Herod's birthday.—*Tr.*]

⁴ Lu. xiii. 32.

⁵ Matt. xiv. 5.

Old Testament placed the anniversaries of kings' birthdays in the worst light in the eyes of the Jews. Pharaoh, the detested king of Egypt, celebrated his γενέθλια.¹ Many centuries later, Antiochus Epiphanes, the no less detested king of Syria, compelled the Jews, in spite of the most desperate resistance, to celebrate his birthday.² While on the other hand, native kings of Israel had in earlier times celebrated the day of their accession.³ Nay, what is still more to the point, Herod the Great⁴ had quite recently renewed the celebration of this day, so that if Antipas celebrated the anniversary of his accession he was doing nothing but what the people were already accustomed to.

If, then, we are to interpret γενέθλια of the festival of Antipas' accession, we shall have in fact a remarkable proof of our previous synoptic combination, which led to the conclusion that the Baptist was beheaded a short time before the Passover. If we assume that, from the distance between the place of the Baptist's imprisonment, and that of our Lord's sojourn at the time, the news of his death did not reach our Lord's ears for some days, we may fix the Baptist's decapitation somewhere about the 8th of Nisan⁵ = April 11th, 782 A.U.C.: and it was just about this time that Herod the Great died, and Antipas succeeded him as tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa. The Baptist's imprisonment, therefore, which, as we have seen, took place about Purim, embraced on the whole about three weeks.

¹ Gen. xl. 20.

² 2 Macc. vi. 7.

³ Hos. vii. 5 sq.

⁴ Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4. 7. The expression "dies Herodis," Pers. *Satir.* v. 180, has been erroneously explained by many earlier commentators of the festivals celebrated by the partisans of Herod, the so-called Herodians occasionally mentioned in the N. T. The reference is really to the Sabbath, as appears partly from the rite observed on these days, the lighting of lamps, partly from the expression in the context, "recutita sabbata" (cf. Plum. *in loc.*). "Herod" stands here as the representative of the Jewish people, just as "Apella" does in the well-known line of Horace, "credat Judæus Apella."

⁵ The incorrectness of the 29th of August, as the date of the "Festum decollationis S. Joannis" (a festival, however, which was not observed by the Church till a somewhat late period), is thus proved. The idea of Malala, *Chronogr.* p. 305, that the Baptist was beheaded on the 25th of May, is certainly nearer the truth.

This section of Matthew's Gospel, of which the initial and terminal points are identical with those of the table of parallel passages in Luke and Mark already given, records substantially the same events with them; and yet, as may be seen by a glance at the numbers affixed, to a great extent in a totally different order. This must be admitted, even though, on the one hand, we feel convinced that the following portions, which we have arranged according to Mark's order—viz. the independent narratives Matt. iv. 18—22, and Matt. xii. 46—50, of which vv. 22—45 form part (cf. Matt. xiii. 1—30)—have been arranged correctly, and without establishing any real contradiction to Luke's arrangement; and if, on the other hand, particular portions¹ have been correctly placed in direct connection with one another. So that even in the unchronological arrangement we cannot overlook a degree of striving after the true chronology.

If then we consider that Matthew, like the other two Evangelists, has in other parts written in chronological succession, and that consequently the unchronological, or at least semi-chronological, arrangement of this section presupposes an exceptional departure from his prevailing chronological method, we cannot but conclude that in the composition and arrangement of this section he allowed himself to be governed by some rule not his own, and for some reasons unknown to us determined in this portion of his Gospel to make use of some original document lying before him, the work of another author, which was not arranged in chronological order, and to incorporate it with his own work unaltered. Indeed, the existence and chronological character of the present section affords, among many others, a striking confirmation of the statement of John the Presbyter, preserved to us in a fragment of Papias,² that the Apostle Matthew had done no more than make a collection (in the Aramaic tongue) of the *λόγια τοῦ κυρίου*. A collection in which, naturally enough, only subordinate attention was paid to the time and place at which the individual sayings were spoken; while, on the

¹ e.g. Matt. ix. 1—8, 9—17, xii. 1—8, 9—17, etc.

² Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3. 9.

other hand, special weight was given to the arrangement and grouping of those discourses, the subjects of which had an internal likeness which mutually explained or supplemented one another. And in truth, the existence of larger collections of discourses is a peculiarity of the first Evangelist, when compared with the other Synoptists, which appears especially in the present section. This phenomenon will be more clearly displayed, and more plainly recognized, if we compare the three larger collections of discourses of the section, which must have formed part of the Aramaic original,¹ with the parallel passages in Luke.

(1) The parallel passages to Matt. v. 3.—vii. 27, contained in Luke, are as follows:—

MATTHEW.	LUKE.
v. 3—6.	vi. 20, 21.
11, 12.	22, 23.
13.	xiv. 34. (?)
18.	xvi. 17.
25, 26.	xii. 58, 59.
32.	xvi. 18.
39—42, 44—48.	vi. 27—30, 32—36.
vi. 9—13.	xi. 2—4.
19—21.	xii. 33, 34.
22, 23.	xi. 34—36.
24.	xvi. 13.
25—34.	xii. 22—31.
vii. 1, 2.	vi. 37, 38.
3—5.	41, 42.
7—11.	xi. 9—13.
12.	vi. 31.
13.	xiii. 24.
16—21.	vi. 43—46.
22, 23.	xiii. 25—27.
24—27.	vi. 47—49.

An inspection of this table at once proves the truth of our assertion that Matthew has here collected a number of our Lord's sayings of a similar import, without attention to the time when, or the occasion on which, they were

¹ Matt. v. 3—vii. 27, x. 5—42, xiii. 3—52.

spoken (particulars which, on the other hand, are, as a rule, stated by Luke), and this undoubtedly with the view of presenting a systematic view of a certain defined portion of our Lord's teaching. Indeed, he carries this systematizing principle so far as to convey the idea that the whole collection of sayings, in spite of the different times and places at which they were really spoken, was delivered at the same time and in the same place, viz. on the mountain which lies on the western shore of the sea¹ of Galilee.² And why on this mountain? Doubtless because the largest portion of the collection was really delivered there, immediately after the selection of the twelve,³ as is clear from the parallel, Lu. vi. 20—49. But why does Matthew place this discourse so early, and indeed immediately after the call of the first four Apostles?⁴ It may be that this arose simply from its importance, and the desire to present as early as possible a general view of the high moral bearing of our Lord's teaching, from the

¹ In the course of our Lord's ministry out of Judea, at least two mountains stand prominently forward, which must be distinguished from one another as carefully as possible. One was situated on the western shore of the sea of Galilee, not far from Capernaum. It was here that the so-called "Sermon on the Mount" was delivered, Lu. vi. 12, cf. vi. 1, Mar. iii. 13, cf. iii. 7 (which proves that the mountain was on the "sea of Galilee," Matt. l. c.); and here, too, our Lord, in all probability, shewed Himself to His disciples for the last time in Galilee, Matt. xxviii. 16. The other mountain was on the eastern shore, in Peræa. Our Lord was here when he fed the "five thousand," Joh. vi. 3, cf. vi. 1, 15, Matt. xiv. 23, Mar. vi. 46; and here, too, it is probable that His "transfiguration" took place, Matt. xvii. 1, cf. xvi. 13, xvii. 22—24, Mar. ix. 2, cf. viii. 27, ix. 30, Lu. ix. 28, cf. ix. 10. It may be considered proved by the above passages that the "transfiguration" took place in the tetrarchy of Philip, to the east of the lake, and not, as an erroneous tradition asserts, on Mount Tabor in Galilee.

² Matt. v. 1, cf. viii. 1.

³ It is plain, also, why the author of the first Gospel does not, at a later period, expressly describe the ordination of the twelve apostles. For since he was aware that the most important portions of the collection of discourses (Matt. v.—vii.) were not delivered till after the appointment of the twelve, he might very naturally be indisposed to make special mention of this circumstance, but only of their mission (Matt. x.), on which occasion he suitably enough gives the names of those who had been already chosen as Apostles.

⁴ Matt. iv. 18—22

pen of an Apostle. If, as appears probable, chronological reasons concurred to produce this result, it was because, according to Lu. v. 1—4, our Lord did actually deliver a discourse at that time, and nearly at the same place, several portions of which, particularly those to which Luke supplies no parallel, may have been transferred by Matthew to his collection.

(2) In Luke we have the following parallels to Matthew x. 5—12.

MATTHEW.	LUKE.
x. 7—11.	ix. 2—4.
12, 13.	x. 5, 6.
14.	ix. 5.
15.	x. 12.
16.	x. 3.
19, 20.	xii. 11, 12.
24.	vi. 40.
26—33.	xii. 2—9.
34—37.	51—53.

This comparison with Luke shews us that we have here again several discourses of our Lord combined by Matthew in his peculiar way; and in particular the instructions given to the "Twelve," and to the "Seventy," which would naturally have many points of similarity. We need only compare the introductory clause Matt. ix. 37, 38, with that Lu. x. 2.

(3) Matt. xiii. 3—52, and the parallels in Luke.

MATTHEW.	LUKE.
xiii. 3—11, 13.	viii. 5—10.
12.	18.
16, 17.	x. 23, 24.
18—23.	viii. 11—15.
31, 32.	xiii. 18, 19.
33.	20, 21.

Matthew, besides giving us in this place several parables which we find differently placed in Luke, supplies us with some additional ones (xiii. 24—30, 36—52), peculiar to himself; and thus we have another instance of his fondness for bringing together passages of a similar character.

On the whole, then, the arrangement of this section by the first Evangelist leads to the conclusion that he considered the apostolical document on which he based his Gospel, though not arranged in chronological order, of such importance that in order that he might adopt it without alteration he resolved to depart, to a certain extent, from the chronological method observed by him elsewhere. Not, however, that we are to imagine that he was ignorant of the true chronological relation of the events, or that, consequently, if he had desired to adopt a strict chronological arrangement in this place he was unable to do so. And yet in this case alone should we have had any right to impute to the Evangelist a deficiency in essential knowledge of facts, or any real discrepancy with the other Evangelists in the chronological arrangement of this section. While, then, this arrangement has been firmly established by the other Gospels, we are indebted to the first Evangelist for a systematized report of several of our Lord's discourses, vouched for by apostolic authority. And we may therefore thankfully accept them both.

It is far from being my purpose, on the present occasion, to give a full and satisfactory demonstration of the relation in which the existing "Gospel of St. Matthew" stands to the original Aramaic *λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου*. This demonstration, which would now lead us much too far, can only be given in connection with a treatise specially devoted to the investigation of the original sources and authorship of the first Gospel. To this, therefore,—which, as I have already remarked, it is my intention to undertake as soon as possible,—I must direct my reader for the completion and confirmation of what has been here stated. The chronological question which is the main object of the present work is set at rest, since it has been shewn that the section of Matthew which we are now treating of is destitute of any definite chronological arrangement, and cannot, therefore, be employed as a basis of any chronological investigation: while, at the same time, the credibility of the Evangelist is guaranteed by the circumstance that the variations in his arrangement of events are to be accounted for, not by any deficiency of chronological knowledge, but by an intentional dependence on an

original document, proceeding from another source and not arranged in chronological order, which he introduces here, and of which we may prove that he availed himself by arguments which we cannot here further develop. At the same time, although we are sure that his peculiar arrangement is due to the insertion of these *λόγια*, yet we can form no conclusion from this as to the mode in which the Evangelist may have dealt with this arrangement in particular cases. However, since the present work is principally devoted to the arrangement of the Gospels, it cannot be superfluous if we attempt to determine by what principles the Evangelist may have been guided in arranging the events of this section. I must, however, expressly premise that even if, as is quite possible, our explanation of this difficult phenomenon proves erroneous, the phenomenon itself¹ which demands explanation remains the same, and with it also the general conclusions on the chronological question deduced therefrom.

The preceding remarks will have shewn the reader that I consider the so-called "Sermon on the Mount," Matt. v.—vii.; the collection of discourses comprising the instructions for the twelve and the seventy, Matt. x.; and the collection of parables, Matt. xiii. 3—52, original component parts of these *λόγια*. I am, however, far from maintaining that no other portions of these same *λόγια* are contained in Matthew's Gospel except those in this section, or that these three collections of discourses followed one another in the *λόγια* in the order indicated above. These collections of discourses, made with special reference to their internal connection, included elements of discourses

¹ Schleiermacher, in his acute treatise *On the Testimony of Papias concerning the first two Gospels*, *Stud. und Krit.* 1832, iv. p. 735 sq., was the first to maintain that the Aramaic *λόγια* of Matthew were interwoven in the narrative of the first Gospel, a view which has since been recognized by critics in an ever-increasing ratio. It is clear, from the present chronological investigation, that this theory affords the only grounds on which a defence of this Gospel can be based. It becomes, therefore, above all things important (as I have already noticed in my *Beiträgen z. apocalypt. Litterat.* p. 182) to separate the constituent parts of these *λόγια* from the work of later hands. Hitherto no one has succeeded in this; indeed—with the exception of Schleiermacher—hardly any one has attempted it.

delivered at different times, and were therefore of course arranged unchronologically. The necessary conclusion is that a complete chronological arrangement of our section must be given up. And, in perfect harmony with this conclusion, we find the strict chronological arrangement ceasing exactly where the first collection commences, Matt. iv. 23, and beginning again where the last terminates, Matt. xiii. 54.¹ The remaining portions of narrative given by the Synoptists must, therefore, be inserted in suitable places between these two collections, which, however, cannot be done exactly in the order required by chronology. Chronological succession, however, is so far observed, that the events² introduced are really to be placed between the call of the four Apostles and the mission of the Twelve.

Let us now examine the Evangelist's mode of dealing with particulars. Since the arrangement of the present section, in consequence of the introduction of these collections of discourses, is governed by the principle of the connection of subject-matter, this is also adopted with perfect consistency in the arrangement of events. It is this endeavour to bring all into system, which causes all the miracles of the section, Matt. viii. 1—ix. 34, to be grouped together. In the arrangement, the call of the tax-gatherer and Apostle, Matthew, ch. ix. 9—17, and the cure of the withered hand on the Sabbath, xii. 9—14, form exceptions; for since the latter is a miracle, and the former is not, the two ought to have changed places. However, these are but apparent exceptions. As regards the call of Matthew, to say nothing of its close connection with ix. 1—8, it was necessary that it should be placed before the preparation and instruction of the twelve

¹ See the tabular view, p. 291.

² If the fact recorded Matt. ix. 32—34 is the same with that Lu. xi. 14 sq., we should have another exception. This, however, cannot be assumed off-hand (ante, p. 281), since in both of these passages we find only *α κωφός δαίμονιζόμενος*, but, on the other hand, in Matt. xii. 22, a *δαίμονιζόμενος τυφλός καὶ κωφός*. The insertion of this fact in this place may be explained by the consideration that the ensuing collection of discourses Matt. x. 5 sq. contains several elements of discourse which, according to Luke, belong chronologically to the same section in which it is recorded by him.

Apostles, of whom Matthew had become one, and therefore before ch. x. And, on the other hand, the healing of the withered hand was to be viewed, not so much as a simple cure, but as a cure on the Sabbath-day, and therefore as an example given in word and deed of the disapprobation felt by our Lord for the rigid ordinances laid down at that time regarding the sanctity of the Sabbath. Nor, in consequence of the precise similarity of its purport, could it have been introduced till after the narrative of the plucking of the ears of corn on the Sabbath, xii. 1—8, with which it was also most closely connected in order of time. The chronological arrangement of the several miracles having been once abandoned the topographical takes its place, which affords a very simple explanation of the partially different order of succession, in Matt. viii. 1—ix. 8. Here too we have, as the tabular arrangement proves, clearer statements as to the *place* of the miracles, which generally are in most happy accordance with the synoptic parallels.¹ The message of the imprisoned Baptist to our

¹ The only difficulty relating to the determination of a place in the present section relates to that where the one, or, according to Matthew, the two demoniacs, were healed (Matt. viii. 28), which however, in the present position of the investigation, is in fact only a critical one. The locality of the cure must, according to the unanimous statements of the Evangelists, be looked for on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, Lu. viii. 26, 33, Mar. v. 1, 13, 21, Matt. viii. 28, 32, ix. 1. This decidedly supports the reading Γαδαρηνῶν as opposed to Γερασσηνῶν. Cf. Reland, *Palæst.* p. 773 sq. The reading Γεργεσαίων, which has very little manuscript authority, seems to rest on the authority of Origen. (Cf. the excellent demonstration in Winer, and Raümer, s. v. "Gadara.") Its proximity to the sea, and consequently the reading Gadara in preference to Gerasa, is also supported by the chronology of the section, which does not admit any long journey of our Lord's at this time. Lachmann's edition, therefore, does not give the original text of the Synoptists in reading Γερασσηνῶν instead of Γαδαρηνῶν. The critical difficulty, however, lies in explaining the origin of the various readings, if Γαδαρηνῶν, which seems to offer no difficulty, were the original reading. Now, as I have no fondness for having recourse to the idea of an error of the copyists (the reading Γεργεσαίων, after what Origen, its voucher, has said about it, certainly requires no further explanation), I am therefore inclined to derive the reading Γερασσηνῶν from the fact that the names of the cities of Decapolis, of which, according to Mar. v. 20, this place must have been one, were differently given by different authorities (cf. Winer, *R. W. B. s. v. "Dekapolis"*), and that those who made the correction

Lord was introduced in order that His reply, in which He lays the greatest stress upon the miracles already wrought by Him, Matt. xi. 4, 5, might receive additional confirmation and proof, as from a commentary, from the previous collective account of His miracles. And, finally, the Evangelist brings this section to a very appropriate close by describing the mode and the deportment with which our Lord, in fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament, performed all His miracles.¹ From this point Matthew again adopts a strict chronological method in the arrangement of the remaining narratives, as is clearly shewn by the more precise notes of time he henceforward adopts, *e.g.* xiii. 1, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.

Upon the whole, therefore, if it was the intention of the Evangelist to introduce a principal portion of the apostolic λόγια in this place, and if, therefore, he had neither the power nor the desire to arrange the events which fall within our section in strict chronological order, he could scarcely have performed the office of a "redacteur" more ably, and more in accordance with the sense of the original than he has actually done.

2. *Relation between the Events in the Sections Lu. ix. 18—50, Mar. vi. 45—ix. 50, Matt. xiv. 22—xviii. 35. Cf. Joh. vi. 16—vii. 14.*

The initial and terminal points of this division are very precisely determined. The initial point, or the "Feeding of the Five Thousand," fell shortly before the Passover (ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ πάσχα), or, as we have seen,² still more precisely, on the 14th of Nisan = April 17th. The terminal point is given by the journey of our Lord to the Feast of Tabernacles,³ on the 15th of Tisri = October 12, 782 A.U.C. Our Lord's journey was so arranged as to enable Him to visit the Temple, ἡδὴ τῆς ἐορτῆς μεσοῦσης.⁴ This was a Sabbath-day. For since the Feast of Tabernacles embraced eight

Γερασηνῶν, excluded Gadara, and therefore changed its name for that of some other city, of a very similar sound, which, according to their view, really did belong to Decapolis.

¹ Matt. xii. 15, 21.

² Joh. vii. 2.

³ p. 285.

⁴ Joh. vii. 14. Cf. p. 265.

days, reaching from the evening of the 14th to that of the 22nd of Tisri,¹ the "terminus," ἡδὲ μεσοῦσης τ. ἑορτ. corresponds to the 18th of Tisri. Now the 15th of Nisan = April 18th, fell that year on a Monday, and consequently the 15th of Tisri = October 12, on a Thursday; and the 18th of Tisri = October 15, on a Saturday. Thus the very day itself explains the reason why our Lord went then to the Temple and instructed the people from the Scriptures,² and also why He then alluded to the charge of breaking the Sabbath, which had been already brought against Him at an earlier period.³

The several events are arranged in order on the following page:—

¹ On the 22nd was עריר, the ἑξέσιν of the LXX.

² Joh. vii. 14, 15.

³ Joh. v. 16, 18.

	LUKE.	MARK.	MATT.	JOHN.	PLACE.	TIME.
1	.....	vi. 45-52	xiv. 22-33	vi. 16-21	Mar. εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαι- δάν. Matt. εἰς πέραν. Joh. εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλ. εἰς Καπερνα- οὐμ.	Mar. Matt. εὐθέως—ὅντας γενο- μένης, —περὶ τετάρτην φυλακῆν. Joh. ὡς δὲ ὅψια ἐγένετο.
2	.....	vi. 53-56 vi. 1-16	xiv. 34-36 xv. 1-11	vi. 22-59	Mar. Matt. διαπεράσαντες ἦλθον ἐπὶ τ. γῆν Γεννη. Joh. ἐν Κα- περναοὐμ.	Mar. εὐθέως. Matt. later τότε. Joh. τῇ ἑκαβρίον ἐν συναγωγῇ.
3	.....	vii. 17-23	xv. 12-20	vi. 60-65	Mar. ὅτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον. εἰς τὰ ὅσα Τύμου καὶ Σιδωνος.	.....
4	.....	vii. 24-30 vii. 31-37	xv. 21-28	.....	ἔκλειθ' ἐκ τ. οἴου Τύρ. κ. Σιδων. ἡλθ' εἰς τ. βάλανσ. τ. Γαλ. ἀνα- μυσ. τ. ὁρ. τῆς Δεκαπόλ.	.....
5	.....	viii. 1-9	xv. 29-38	.....	Matt. ἦλθε παρὰ τ. θάλα.—ἡναβας εἰς τὸ ὄρος.	Mar. ἐν ἑκείν. τ. ἡμέρ. Matt. Mar. τρεῖς ἡμέρ. προσμέν.
6	.....	viii. 10	xv. 39	.....	ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἦλθον εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλιμανούθα. Matt. Ματ- θαία.	.....
7	.....	viii. 11, 12	xvi. 1-4	.....	ἐμβὰς εἰς τ. πλ. ἦλθ' εἰς τὸ πέραν εἰς Βηθσαιδ.	.....
8	ix. 18-27	viii. 13-21	xvi. 5-12	.....	Mar. Matt. εἰς τὰς κάμας τ. Καρ- σαρ. τῆς Φιλίππ.	Joh. ἐκ τούτου.
9	ix. 28-36	viii. 22-26 viii. 27, ix. 1	xvi. 13-28	vi. 66-71	.....	.....
10	ix. 37-43	ix. 2-13	xvii. 1-13	.....	.....	.....
11	ix. 43-45	ix. 14-29	xvii. 14-21	.....	.....	.....
12	ix. 45-47	ix. 30-32	xvii. 22-23	.....	.....	.....
13	ix. 46-50	ix. 33-50	xvii. 24-27	.....	.....	.....
14	.....	.....	xviii. 1-36	.....	.....	.....
15	.....	.....	.....	vii. 1-2 vii. 8-14	.....	.....

The arrangement of the combined text supplies few, if any, difficulties. The following remarks may suffice. Mark and Matthew supply the fullest account; John and Luke enter less into detail. Neither of them, however, furnishes any data of time or place which can exclude or even throw suspicion on the fuller accounts of the two former.

For the first seven sections Luke is entirely silent. He enters again with No. 8,¹ where, however, there is an entire absence of anything to determine whether his narrative is to be placed in immediate chronological connection with what precedes it. John too, as it were to authenticate the complementary narrative of the other two Synoptists, is in complete parallelism² with its opening portion (No. 1). How long a time our Lord spent on His journey "through the coasts of Tyre and Sidon" cannot be precisely determined. Thence He returned "through the coasts of Decapolis," i.e. the district on the east side of Jordan, bordering on the sea of Galilee (Mar. vii. 31, Matt. xv. 29), where³ He healed "one who was deaf and had an impediment in his speech,"⁴ and performed other cures.⁵ After this He again fed Four Thousand persons, who had been with Him three days, and after dismissing the crowd, "took ship and passed over into the coasts of Magdala,"⁶ or "Dalmanutha."⁷ Magdala, therefore, must be placed on the western shore of the lake, and Dalmanutha, a name which does not occur elsewhere, in its immediate neighbourhood. The meaning of this name is probably "Cliffs," "Peaks," (דָּרְבָּנוֹת from דָּרַב, to be pointed), i.e. in Greek

¹ Lu. ix. 18.

² It appears probable that the events recorded Mar. vi. 53—vii. 23, Matt. xiv. 34—xv. 20, are to be referred to the same day as those Joh. vi. 22—65, i.e. the day after the Feeding of the Five Thousand, on the 15th of Nisan. This is supported by the expression, Mar. vi. 54, ἐξελεθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθέως. Besides, our Lord is disputing with the Pharisees and Scribes from Jerusalem in Mar. vii. 1—13, just as with the Ἰουδαίους of the synagogue in Joh. vi. 41—52.

³ Matthew xv. 29 gives τὸ ὄρος as the place, which must therefore be looked for on the east coast of the lake, cf. p. 294.

⁴ Mar. vii. 32—37.

⁵ Matt. xv. 30, 31

⁶ Matt. xv. 39.

⁷ Mar. viii. 10.

Δαρβανουθά, or, for euphony, Δαλμανουθά,¹ an etymology which is supported by the position of Magdala, which lay at no great distance from a range of cliffs.² Here He again encountered the Pharisees, who in vain demanded a sign,³ crossed the lake,⁴ and went to Bethsaida,⁵ which therefore lay on the western shore of the lake,⁶ where He cured a blind man.⁷

From this point (No. 8) forwards, we find Luke and John taking up the thread of the narrative. If either of the two had furnished us with a more precise note of time (for John's ἐκ τούτου, "after this," cannot be regarded as such), we should have been able to determine with greater accuracy the date of the following events, which are calculated by so many days after our Lord's words recorded in No. 8. This we cannot now do. Mark and Luke, however, do inform us *where* they were spoken, viz. "on the way," in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi. "After six days," as stated by Matthew and Mark, or, which comes to the same thing, "about" (ὥσει) "eight days after," our Lord was transfigured on a mountain in the presence of His favourite disciples, Peter, John, and James. The next day, τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ, on their way down from the mountain,⁸ He cured a lunatic child. While travelling through Galilee after this He again speaks of His death (No. 11). On His reaching Capernaum, the collectors of the tribute-money demanded payment of Him and Peter, which He, the Son of God, does not refuse.⁹ And yet, in the same town, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ,¹⁰ our Lord is compelled to rebuke the ambition and

¹ Other etymologies are given in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* pp. 555, 556.

² Cf. Winet, *s. v.*

³ Mar. viii. 11, 12, parall.

⁴ Mar. viii. 13—21, parall.

⁵ Mar. viii. 22.

⁶ Ante, p. 268.

⁷ Mar. viii. 22—26.

⁸ Lu. ix. 37.

⁹ Matt. xvii. 24—27.

¹⁰ Matt. xviii. 1. The perfect correctness of Matthew's singularly precise note of time, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, apart from the enquiry as to what could possibly have led the Evangelist to speak with such precision, if he was not certain of his fact, is evident from the parallel passage in Mark. We see from Mar. ix. 33, 34, that the disciples had "disputed by the way to Capernaum who should be the greatest." It was therefore certainly *as soon as our Lord had reached* "the house," v. 33, that He rebuked them for it. So also the enquiry about the "tribute" was put to Peter by the way, Matt. xvii. 24, and the conversation between him and our Lord took place immediately after

want of love displayed by His disciples (No. 13). The collection of the tax took place in September,¹ and immediately afterwards, our Lord started for Judea; a journey which took place at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles.²

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL RESULT OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE SECTION.

THE result of our examination of this section is that not in Luke only, but also in the parallel portions of Mark and John, we find a narrative arranged with strict attention to chronology. This has never been questioned as far as John is concerned. Matthew, on the other hand, at least in the division iv. 23—xiii. 54, is an exception; though, as we have seen, his only reason for not having arranged this portion of his narrative in accordance with strict chronological order is that he made it an object to introduce the apostolic λόγια which were not thus arranged. It cannot, therefore, be said that the first Evangelist did not as a rule write chronologically, still less that he was unable to do so; but only that in this particular section he has not adopted such an arrangement, and that for a special purpose. Not only, however, have all the Evangelists—Matthew in the portion mentioned above is the only exception—given the events they report in chronological order, but they afford a remarkable confirmation of the truth of this order by the agreement in their several statements. They supplement one another, and that in such a way that it would be a mistake to assert that any one of them, *e.g.* Luke, supplies us throughout with the

“he had come into the house,” *v.* 25. Both these conversations must have been almost contemporaneous. I seem, however, to discover an evidence of our Lord’s wisdom in dealing with this matter of the “tribute money” first, that so He might practically, and by His own example, teach them the moral nobility of self-denial and humility, in thus submitting Himself to an ordinance existing by the will of God.

¹ Ante, p. 264.

² Joh. vii. 2, 10, 14. For more exact details, see ante, p. 300.

most definite statements, even though it must be granted that several of the most important portions of the Gospel history are presented to us by Luke and John with the sharpest chronological outline, so that in arranging the Gospel events they must always remain our chief guides. We may also notice how the Evangelists mutually supplement one another in their statements of locality; and this is demonstrable here, where the harmonizing of the narratives of the different Evangelists, even at the first glance, offers no difficulty at all. It must, however, be acknowledged, as indeed was to be expected from the nature of the case, that in proportion to the stress laid on the transmission of the Discourses of our Lord is the disregard shewn to statements regarding time and place.

In conclusion, it is interesting to observe what long intervals sometimes occur with but comparatively few events recorded. We find a remarkable example of this in our present section (putting John out of the question for the moment), viz. Lu. ix. 18—50, where within the limits of thirty-three verses we have the history of nearly half a year of our Lord's ministry. But if we examine the matter thoroughly we shall see that there is no reason to conclude, without further proof, that the Evangelist was unacquainted with the exact details of this period. On the contrary, it is evident, unless other motives connected with the object of the Gospel were also at work, that the copiousness of the narrative stands in an intimate relation to the copiousness and importance of the several events of the period described. It is only in this way that we can explain the disproportionate minuteness of detail in the Synoptical narrative of the period between the plucking of the ears of corn on the second-first Sabbath and the Feeding of the Five Thousand, comprising no more than *nine* days;¹ or, again, the full and particular account we have of our Lord's Transfiguration and the events connected with it, of the Passion, and other similar portions.

The fundamental laws of the construction of the Gospel history, developed in this section, will receive further demonstration in the subsequent sections of our work.

¹ Lu. vi. 1—ix. 17, parall.

SECTION IV.

FROM OUR LORD'S JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM TO KEEP THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, TILL HIS LAST KINGLY ENTRY INTO THE CITY.

THE text of this section is found in Lu. ix. 51—xix. 28. Mar. x. 1—52. Matt. xix. 1—xx. 34. Joh. vii. 2—xii. 11. For the larger part of it, we do not find our Lord exercising His ministry any longer in Galilee: but we have His last journey to Jerusalem up to the time of His last public entry into the city, and previously to this several other journeys to Jerusalem or Judea, and sojournings in Judea, Peræa, and Samaria, consequent upon them. Our Lord appears at last to have been no longer safe in Galilee.

The initial and terminal points of the section are so chosen as to allow of their date being accurately fixed without any difficulty. The initial point we already know. It is given by the journey of our Lord to the Feast of Tabernacles, the celebration of which commenced in the year 29 A.D., on October 12th, and must therefore be placed a little before that day, after our Lord's brethren had set out for the feast.

The terminal point we derive from Joh. xii. 1—12. We see from Joh. xii. 1, that our Lord came to Bethany *πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα*, i.e. since the Paschal Feast began on the 14th of Nisan, on the evening of the 8th. That evening and the following day were spent by our Lord in the family of Lazarus, on which occasion the "supper," described Joh. xii. 2—8, took place. "The next day," *τῇ ἐπαύριον*, Joh. xii. 12, i.e. the 10th of Nisan (= April 2nd, the 15th of Nisan corresponding to April 7th), He entered Jerusalem amid the acclamations of the crowd. In the ensuing section we shall afford further proofs of this date, when investigating that of the day of our Lord's death.

This section will, on the whole, embrace a period of about six months.

The narratives of Matthew and Mark, the close similarity of which is shewn in every harmony, must be styled meagre in comparison with that of Luke, for while they supply a remarkable parallel to the portion from Lu. xviii. 15 to the close of the section, all between Lu. ix. 51—xviii. 14 is entirely omitted. No unprejudiced person who notices this remarkable fact will have any difficulty in attributing this omission merely to Matthew and Mark having intentionally passed over those journeys of our Lord beyond the limits of Galilee which preceded His last journey to Judea. That there is any contradiction between them and Luke he will be the less disposed to imagine, since the Gospels themselves prove that this is not the only place where the Evangelists have passed over a considerable period of our Lord's life unnoticed.

A reference to John's Gospel affords a striking proof of the correctness of this mode of explanation. For he, as well as Luke, tells us of several other journeys before that last one where the other two Evangelists take up the thread of the narrative again. Nay, even the number and date of these journeys correspond: and this agreement is all the more remarkable, from the perfect independence of the two narratives. We will, therefore, endeavour to discover more exactly the relation in which John stands to Luke.

John, in perfect accordance with the spirit of his Gospel, has given special prominence to our Lord's journeys to Judea and Jerusalem during His public ministry, and has given in fuller detail the events occurring during His various sojourns there, on which account we may reasonably take him as our guide in this investigation. Now we learn from him, that between the epoch at which we have now arrived, and our Lord's last eventful journey to Jerusalem, He visited that city as well as Judea twice. The first journey, and our Lord's protracted sojourn in Judea, is detailed Joh. vii. 10—x. 39.¹ At that time He

¹ If there is reason for assuming that our Lord's ministry extended beyond Jerusalem, before Joh. x. 22, this must be understood of a

went to Peræa, "unto the place where John at first baptized," i.e. to "Bethany, beyond Jordan."¹ He was then recalled to Bethany in Judea,² in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, that He might heal Lazarus, who was sick: while to avoid any possible confusion between the two "Bethanys" this is expressly defined as "the town of Mary and her sister Martha," where Mary anointed the Lord.³ In obedience to this call our Lord came to Bethany;⁴ but, in consequence of the measures of decided hostility taken by the Pharisaic party in the Sanhedrim⁵ He did not visit Jerusalem, but withdrew "into a city called Ephraim,"⁶ a town of Judea,⁷ eight Roman miles to the north of Jeru-

ministry within Judea. Cf. Joh. iii. 22. If it had extended beyond the limits of Judea, John would certainly, according to his usual manner, have expressly said so. Cf. Lücke, *De Wette*, Tholuck, *in loc.* Jacobi, *u. s.* p. 870.

¹ Joh. i. 28.

² Cf. Joh. xi. 7, ἔγωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

³ Joh. xi. 1, 2. Cf. xii. 2—8.

⁴ Joh. xi. 1—45.

⁵ Joh. xi. 46—53.

⁶ v. 54.

⁷ We are indebted to Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, for the information that Ephraim was 8 Roman miles to the north of Jerusalem. The Latin translation of Jerome gives in error 20 Roman miles. Cf. Reland, *Palæst.* pp. 490, 491, 765. It is plain, from Josephus, *de Bell. Jud.* iv. 9. 9, that it lay more to the south than Bethel, which, according to Eusebius, was 12 miles from Jerusalem. Josephus is there speaking of an expedition of Vespasian, in which he made himself master of two toparchies, τὴν τε Γοφνιτικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀκραβατηνὴν καλουμένην, *after which* (μεθ' ἧς) Βηθλὰ τε καὶ Ἐφραῖμ πολίχνη, οἷς φρουροὺς ἐγκαταστήσας μέχρι Ἱεροσολύμων ἱππάζετο. Now since it is plain, partly from the other localities mentioned, partly from the closing words of the historian, that Vespasian, on this his victorious march, was continually approaching nearer to the gates of Jerusalem, Ephraim, the last-named town, must have been the nearest to that city. Ephraim, in our Lord's time, belonged to Judea, and not, as some have maintained, to Samaria. This is indeed intimated by John. For the χώρα in which Ephraim was situated, Joh. xi. 54, is again mentioned in the next verse, v. 55, and must of course have the same meaning in both places. In v. 55, however, it cannot be Samaria, but the province of Judea, because the Samaritans did not go up to the Passover. Besides, this statement of the Evangelist is confirmed in another way. We know that at this time Bethel belonged to Benjamin, Ezr. ii. 28, Neh. vii. 32, Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1. 3, having originally fallen to that tribe, Jos. xviii. 22. Cf. Winer, *R. W. B.* "Bethel." Must we not therefore conclude that Ephraim, which lay further to the south, belonged to Judea? Indeed all the places in our quotation from Josephus belonged at that time to Judea (Jos. *de Bell. Jud.* iii. 3. 5). In the passage just referred to,

salem, "near to the wilderness," and not far from the Samaritan border. From this place our Lord started on that last journey, which is narrated by the Synoptists with the fullest detail. We see then that in the present section John gives us no more than two journeys of our Lord to Judea, before His last journey to the Feast of the Passover, the second of which, however, did not bring Him further than the gates of Jerusalem.

How is it, then, with Luke in the corresponding section, ix. 51—xix. 28? If we look at the parallel passages in Mark and Matthew, we can scarcely feel any doubt that he begins his narrative of our Lord's last journey, ch. xvii. 11. Before this he, too, has two journeys of our Lord to Jerusalem—neither more nor less—of which he specifies the commencement ix. 51 and xiii. 22. We must, therefore, maintain that in the present section, the portion Lu. ix. 51—xiii. 21, runs parallel with Joh. vii. 10—x. 42; Lu. xiii. 22—xvii. 10, with Joh. xi. 1—54; and lastly, Lu. xvii. 11—xix. 28, with Joh. xi. 55—xii. 11. Of the many arguments in support of this synoptical combination I propose only to adduce the most convincing.

We have decided that Lu. ix. 51—xiii. 21 runs parallel with Joh. vii. 10—x. 42, so that our Lord's departure Lu. ix. 51, corresponds to that related Joh. vii. 10. John, it is true, does not tell us which road our Lord then took to Jerusalem, and we can only conclude that He took the nearest, though not the customary route for those who were travelling from Galilee to the Feast, viz. that through Samaria,¹ inasmuch as we learn from John that He delayed

¹ *Avoudθ*, according to Eusebius, only 15 Roman miles from Sichem, is mentioned as the most northerly town of Judea. Thus we see how it came that one of the northern gates of Jerusalem was called at the same time the "Ephraim" and "Benjamin Gate," 2 Ki. xiv. 13, Zech. xiv. 10, since Ephraim belonged to Benjamin. Further, the Ephraim here spoken of is also intended, 2 Ch. xiii. 19 (in Ketib יִרְפָּא in Keri יִרְפָּא) when it, together with the neighbouring towns of Bethel and Jeshanah, was wrested from Jeroboam, the ungodly king of the Israelites, by the victorious Abijah.

¹ The longer route through Perea was that usually adopted, so as to avoid passing through the country of the Samaritans, who were especially hostile to those who were going up to the Feast at Jerusalem. It is evident from Joh. vii. 10, *τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέβη εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν, οὐ*

a little before He set out, That this was the route actually taken by our Lord is expressly stated by Luke, ix. 52, although he does not make us acquainted with the motive (supplied by John) which either solely or conjointly determined Him to adopt it.

The exceedingly inhospitable reception which, according to Luke, our Lord met with at His entrance into Samaria, admits also of a very easy explanation, if the inhabitants of the village from which He was driven out had reason to conclude that He was travelling to Jerusalem to the feast, and were therefore actuated by religious fanaticism; for we learn from Luke, that on other occasions, our Lord was wont to be very well received in Samaria.

From John we learn that our Lord had reason at that time to fear for His safety, and in the context, Luke has preserved to us an expression of our Lord's¹ which also manifests how great His apprehensions were. In John we also find² that about this time Jesus was styled a Samaritan by His opponents among the orthodox Jews, which appears to point to a leaning on His part towards, or intercourse with, that people so hated by the Jews, no very long time previously.³ According to Lu. x. 38—42, Jesus at that time visited the Bethany in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem where Mary and Martha resided, which will at once remove any surprise which might be felt at His being so intimately known by that family at a later period, and indeed before He set out to restore the sick Lazarus.⁴

Further, our view that the section which speaks of a second journey of Jesus to Judea, Lu. xiii. 22—xvii. 10, is parallel to Joh. xi. 1—54, is supported by the fact that the marks which characterize this journey in John appear also in Luke. For this latter Evangelist also intimates, what John expressly states, that our Lord did not enter

φανερῶς ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν κρυπτῷ, that our Lord did not on this occasion adopt the ordinary foot-road to Jerusalem.

¹ Lu. ix. 58.

² Joh. viii. 48.

³ Cf. also in this same section the parable of the good Samaritan, Lu. x. 30—37.

⁴ Joh. xi. 1 sq.

Jerusalem. It is true that it might appear that He did so from the words used Lu. xiii. 22, πορείαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. But it is evident from the narrative that immediately succeeds, Lu. xiii. 31—35, that the preposition εἰς simply gives us the direction, and not the final goal of His journey: and indeed it is possible that the expression εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ was chosen with the view of bringing out an external conformity with the corresponding passages Lu. ix. 51, xvii. 11. The conversation of our Lord with the Pharisees related here occurred on the same day that He set out,¹ and at a place three days' journey from His final goal,² i.e. as John shews us, from Bethany. At this time, i.e. at the beginning of His journey to Judea, our Lord expressly declared His purpose not to visit Jerusalem again before the next Passover in the words Lu. xiii. 35,³ "Ye (inhabitants of Jerusalem) shall not see me until the time come when ye shall say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord," which was the Paschal salutation to those who were going to the Feast. He kept His word. For when at the next Passover He was entering the gates of Jerusalem, the Jews received Him with this very salutation, only adding, to bring into prominence His Messianic dignity, "Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord."⁴ Further, our Lord, according to John,⁵ was in the Peræan Bethany or some place in its neighbourhood when He set out for Judea, which again agrees very well with the statement of Luke⁶ that He had then three days' journey before Him. It is possible, also, that in the beautiful parable of the "Rich man and Lazarus,"⁷ that name was chosen because even before their

¹ Lu. xiii. 31, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.

² δεῖ με σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ ἐχομένῃ πορεύεσθαι, v. 33.

³ The passage Lu. xiii. 34, 35, is repeated Matt. xxiii. 37—39. This is, however, merely a spurious clause, adopted from Luke by an ancient transcriber, as Credner (*Einleit.* i. pp. 67, 136) has already decided from a comparison of its style with the rest of Matthew's Gospel. Irrespective of this consideration, the clause in this place affords no sense. For subsequently to His last entry into Jerusalem, the people never addressed Him in the words, "Blessed be He," etc.

⁴ Lu. xix. 38, parall.

⁵ Joh. x. 40—42. Cf. xi. 6.

⁶ Lu. xiii. 33.

⁷ Lu. xvi. 19—31.

arrival their grief had been excited by the death of the dearly loved friend.¹

We will now proceed to the narrative of our Lord's last journey to Judea as given by Luke, commencing ch. xvii. 11. To reach Jerusalem Jesus travelled "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee." First through Samaria, and then through Galilee! Does not this indicate plainly enough that our Lord had been sojourning on the southern boundary of Samaria, *i.e.* as John declares, confirming and supplementing Luke's account, in Ephraim. From this place He set out for Jerusalem, through the midst of Samaria and Galilee (and Peræa), evidently with the view of visiting once more the places where, and persons on whom, He had exhibited His redeeming power for a considerable period, before the death which He knew He was about to suffer at the Passover. As therefore He was travelling by the ordinary road through Galilee He had the less reason to apprehend that on this His last journey to a feast, during which it was His purpose to manifest His Messianic dignity in Jerusalem, He should create any *à priori* prejudice against Him in the minds of the Jews then assembled there.

In this way, checking the account of one Evangelist by the other,² we see that the narratives of Luke and John, though composed in perfect independence of one another, can claim historical credibility, and supplement one another in the most satisfactory manner. As regards Luke in particular, we see, as might indeed be anticipated from his expressed intention of writing *καθ' ἑξῆς*—that in the present section also he has written chronologically.

If now from this point we look back to the witness borne by Luke himself to the mode and arrangement adopted in his history, it appears hard to comprehend how even his apologists have been led to maintain that this section is not arranged in chronological order. For in

¹ Joh. xi. 11—16.

² By this means the whole of the objections here brought by Strauss, II. p. 276, against the harmony of the Gospels, are obviated. It would indeed be rather too much to maintain that the agreement of John and Luke, not only in the fact of these three journeys, but also in their characteristic details, was due to mere accident.

so doing they have brought against him an indirect accusation of inability to realize that which is stated by himself as the leading fundamental idea of his Gospel, an idea, moreover, which presupposes nothing less than a remarkable cultivated intellect—viz. that of chronological arrangement. Quite irrespective, however, of the perplexities of the apologists, which perhaps have not unfrequently had a considerable share in leading them to adopt such an opinion, this idea appears to have arisen from the following reasons,¹ which certainly have a degree of plausibility.

The ordinary interpretation of the words Lu. ix. 51, ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ. "and it came to pass when the time was come that He should be received up," i.e. "into Heaven" (De Wette, Meyer, Olshausen, etc.), is at once calculated to lead us astray. For it is scarcely possible that these words can introduce anything but the description of our Lord's last journey, the final termination of which was His ascent into Heaven. But if we explain the words thus, we not only ascribe to Luke a gross chronological error, since this was the commencement of our Lord's last journey but two, not of His last journey to Judea, but also the words, taken by themselves, cannot bear the signification put on them. For (1), ἀνάληψις αὐτοῦ, "His being received up" is neither *per se* nor in this context identical in meaning with His "being received up into Heaven." Just the words which would indicate the idea of "ascension into heaven," εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, are wanting. In this context, too, who would *à priori* look for any mention of such an ascension here? The "*usus loquendi*" for ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι² has been appealed to (the substantive ἀνάληψις not occurring elsewhere in the New Testament), but quite without

¹ These and similar reasons have led Schleiermacher, *Essay on St. Luke*, p. 168 [English Transl.] to the hypothesis that Luke has here interpolated, without correct knowledge of the matter, a journal in which the two last journeys of Jesus, viz. that to the Feast of Dedication (?) and the final Passover, were blended together. This hypothesis has been substantially adopted by Neander, Olshausen, etc. On the other hand, De Wette (Lu. ix. 51) strongly condemns it.

² Acts i. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 16.

any sufficient reason. For we either have the additional clause *εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*,¹ or *ἀφ' ἡμῶν*, "from the midst of us," "from the earth,"² or *ἐν δόξῃ*,³ (in all of which passages the context points out most decidedly the true meaning of *ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι*) or where it stands alone⁴ it is defined as *ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, both by its immediate context, and also by the close of "the former treatise,"⁵ to which the reader is expressly referred⁶ (where it is explained as an *ἀναφέρεισθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*), as well as by what follows, v. 11, cf. vv. 9, 10.⁷ (2) Even if *ἀνάληψις αὐτοῦ* could by itself indicate our Lord's ascension, it could not do so here, since it stands connected with the plural *τὰς ἡμέρας*. Certainly no one of the Evangelists tells us that our Lord ascended on *several* days, but only on *one* day, viz. the last of His earthly sojourn. And on this account, Luke neither speaks, nor could speak anywhere of the *days* of our Lord's ascension, but "the *day*," *ἡμέρα ἣ ἀνελήφθη*.⁸ For the same reason Luke says—nor could he do otherwise—*ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν* (in the singular, not *τὰς ἡμέρας*) *τῆς πεντηκοστῆς*, since "the fiftieth day" (after the first day of the Passover) or the Feast of Pentecost was celebrated on a single day only.

The true meaning of Lu. ix. 51 is plain at once, if we only render the words faithfully. "It came to pass when the days of His reception were being accomplished," which naturally signifies, "when the days were being accomplished, or were drawing to a close, when His Person could still be received on the earth, or a definite portion of the earth, and by men." The reception of Jesus by men is the subject both of what precedes *ἐμὲ δέχεται*, v. 48, and what follows, *οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτόν*, v. 53. The meaning of the passage must therefore be either, "in the evening of His life, at the close of His protracted ministry, in consequence of which He had reason to hope that He had secured a favourable place in the hearts of His fellow-men, it was yet to happen that Jesus was not received by the inhabitants of a Samaritan village," (*οὐκ ἐδέξαντο αὐτόν*)—

¹ Acts i. 11. Cf. Mar. xvi. 19.

² 1 Tim. iii. 16.

³ Lu. xxiv. 51.

⁴ So too in 2 Ki. ii. 11, Ecclus. xlviii. 9.

⁵ Acts i. 22.

⁶ Acts i. 2.

⁷ Acts i. 1.

⁸ Acts i. 2, 22.

or "When the days were drawing to an end in which He met with reception," (the context shews "in Galilee,") "He journeyed towards Jerusalem to work there." This latter interpretation I consider the correct one. Luke tells us immediately afterwards,¹ that His influence in Galilee was less than it had been, and in the parallel passage in Joh. vi. 66—vii. 3, we read of the falling away of His disciples in that district.²

It has also been observed that in this section several portions of discourses of our Lord's appear which Matthew presents in another place. But supposing he has not observed chronological order, does it follow this must have been also the case with Luke? How can we come to such a conclusion as this, when it is on the one hand directly contradicted by the author himself, and on the other the difficulty can be satisfactorily removed by a recognition

¹ Lu. x. 13—15, cf. ix. 58.

² [It is much to be regretted that Dr. Wieseler has encumbered his treatise with so untenable an interpretation as that he has here propounded of ἀνάληψις. This, together with his interpretation of πατρὶς, pp. 44—48, γενέσια, p. 286, his identification of our Lord's journey to Galilee, Joh. vi. 1, with that of the Synoptists, Matt. iv. 12, parall.; his reducing the Baptist's imprisonment to a month; and other novel views which have been almost universally rejected by the soundest scholars, have, as Bp. Ellicott remarks, *Hist. Lect.* p. 244, given an erroneous estimate of his otherwise able work, and led "hasty readers to rate it much below its real merits." It may be well to read the remarks of Tischendorf, who has based his valuable *Synopsis Evangelica* almost entirely on Wieseler's researches and deductions, on this point, pp. xxxvii, xxxviii: "Nova Wieseleri opinione de voce ἀναλήψεως difficultatem loci tolli posse haud credo: ἀνάληψις enim vix aliud notare potest quam Jesu de his terris assumptionem, quæ ultima muneris ejus pars ac perfectio erat." His view of the meaning of the words συμπλ. τ. ἡμέρ. τῆς ἀναλήμψ. is, with little doubt, the correct one: "Lucam iis verbis hoc tantum sibi voluisse puto, ab eo inde tempore—brevis ante primum prædixerat ac paullo post repetierat quem exitum habiturus esset—mentem Jesu totam jam occupatam fuisse cogitatione exitus sui et Hierosolymæ ubi extremæ eum res manerent. Hinc jam non amplius versabatur in Galilæa circa quam tantopere versatur omnis Synopticorum narratio, sed abiit Hierosolymam, neque magis ea relicta in Galilæam rediit, sed post varia circum itinera iterum as tertium Hierosolymam tetendit." So also Euthymius, ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ λέγει τὸν καιρὸν τὸν ἀφορισθέντα μέχρι τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν. See also Meyer, *in loc.*—The]

of the imperfectly chronological character of Matthew's Gospel, which, in modern times, is becoming more generally recognized, while also the chronological Mark furnishes a warrant for the accuracy of Luke's arrangement as opposed to that of Matthew.

Lastly, it has been noticed that Luke himself in this section furnishes remarkably few indications of time or place, while on the other hand, he the more frequently uses the formula of simple external connection, *ἔλεγε δέ, εἶπε δέ*, etc. However true this may be, yet he has defined the commencement of the three journeys to Judea with sufficient sharpness,¹ and by introducing the facts to be communicated in their proper places has given a general indication of their position in the life of Jesus. The paucity of indications of time and place may also be explained by the fact that, with the exception of the selection and sending forth of the Seventy,² when both

¹ Lu. ix. 51, xiii. 22, xvii. 11.

² Lu. x. 1—17. The time when the Seventy were appointed is pointed out by *μετὰ ταῦτα*, Lu. x. 1, *i.e.* as we see from the context, immediately after the commencement of our Lord's last journey to Judea but two, and as John informs us, immediately before or during the Feast of Tabernacles. The place is Samaria, Lu. ix. 51—53, whence He "sent them before His face, into every city and place whither He Himself would come," Lu. x. 1, 17. The time, place, and number are not without significance. This is generally acknowledged as regards the *number*: for as "the Twelve" were messengers to the twelve tribes of Israel, thus representing the primary destination of the Gospel for Israel, its destination for the Gentiles, who were comprehended by the Jews at that time under the number Seventy (which, by the way, accounts for the traditional origin of the Hellenistic version of the O.T., the *Septuagint*), was indicated by "the Seventy." The Twelve received the injunction, Matt. x. 5, 6, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into the way of the Samaritans enter ye not; but rather go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel;" while, on the other hand, the very place where the Seventy were first sent forth was that very Samaria into which "the Twelve" were not to enter. Their original reference therefore was, in exact opposition to that of the Twelve, to the Gentile world, to which even the Samaritans were reckoned by the Jews in our Lord's days (Joh. iv. 9, 22). As regards time, "the Seventy" were sent out later than "the Twelve," the one at the time of the Passover, the other at the Feast of Tabernacles; and thus our Lord gave a practical proof of His intention that His messengers should first go to the people of Israel, and then to the Gentiles. And on this

time and place are indicated, he records nothing but discourses, and that in proportion to their importance, on account of their original character as discourses invested with a definite purpose, the less essential was it that they should be recorded with their local and temporal accidents.¹ Not that even in this section has Luke broken his promise of writing chronologically, or *καθεξῆς*. For to write chronologically in this sense, and to furnish the whole narrative with special notes of time, are evidently two perfectly different things, and the latter may, for special

general principle our Lord Himself acted, directing His ministry first to the inhabitants of Judea and Galilee, and not till the evening of His life and His ministry to the Samaritans. The Apostles in Jerusalem followed His example and instructions; so did Paul, who writes, Rom. i. 16, "to the Jew *first* and also to the Greek," and whose missionary plan in Gentile cities we see from the Acts consisted in preaching *first* to the Jews in the synagogue, and to the Gentiles only when the Gospel had found no admission among them. No doubt was ever felt or raised among the Apostles either as to the fundamental principle, or the fact that the Gospel was to be preached to all nations of the earth. Their only hesitation was on what conditions the Gospel was to be offered to them, and whether the Jewish ritual law was to be enforced or not. On the first point they were sufficiently instructed, partly by the O. T., partly by the words and example of our Lord, and in particular by the separation and sending forth of the seventy disciples in such a place as Samaria, which was looked on as on a par with the Gentile world.

The inner relation of the selection and mission of the "Seventy" to that of the "Twelve," which has been repeatedly taken for granted in the previous discussion, is a point which can scarcely be called in question, since it is not only as clear as day, but is also expressly pointed out, Lu. x. 1, *καὶ ἐρέουσιν* (where see Meyer). So far, indeed, is there from being any reason for calling in question the historical character of the mission of the Seventy, after what has been said of the inner connection of their call with the time, place, and number selected, that we may boldly affirm that the character of our Lord's ministry on the one side, and the mode of missionary operation adopted by the Apostolic Church on the other, almost necessitated such a measure on our Lord's part as the call of the Seventy in addition to that of the Twelve. The only difficulty which can be, and indeed often is, brought forward, viz. the omission of it in Matthew and Mark, is removed by the fact arrived at in our chronological investigation that these Evangelists have not described this period at all. For John, who certainly does describe it, has, in pursuance of the plan of his Gospel, among many other facts with which he could not but be well acquainted, entirely omitted the appointment of the Twelve.

¹ Cf. pp. 305, 306.

reasons, be disregarded, while the former is closely adhered to.

Luke's omissions, however, may, to a considerable extent, be supplied by the help of the parallel passages in John. Our Lord's last journey but two to Judea, together with the ministerial journey connected with it, are narrated Joh. vii. 10—x. 42. The parallel passages in Luke are ix. 51—xiii. 21. Our Lord left Galilee at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, 15th of Tisri = October 12th,¹ later than His brethren, v. 10, but not so late as to prevent His teaching in the Temple at Jerusalem in the middle of the feast,² v. 14, after having passed through Samaria, and sent forth the Seventy. On this day, the Sabbath which occurred during the feast, the facts recorded Joh. vii. 14—36, appear to have taken place, and those vv. 37—53, on "the last day, that great day of the feast" (22nd Tisri = Oct. 19th), which again was peculiarly holy (being as well as the first day of the feast regarded as a sabbath³), and is on that account here styled *μεγάλη*. In Joh. ix. 14 we have another Sabbath mentioned, on which Jesus cured the man who had been born blind.

On this Sabbath occurred all that is recorded Joh. viii. 1, 2,⁴ 12—x. 21, as is clear from the connection of the text of the Gospel (cf. viii. 30, *ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος*, ix. 1, *παράγων* compared with viii. 59, ix. 13, x. 1 (the *ὑμῖν* are the same addressed, ix. 41, as *ὑμῶν*), x. 21⁵). This would be the first Sabbath after the Feast of Tabernacles, 782 A.U.C.,

¹ Joh. vii. 2.

² 15th Oct. Cf. p. 300.

³ Lev. xxiii. 35, 36.

⁴ I agree with the conclusion that the Section relating to the "Woman taken in Adultery," Joh. viii. 3—11, is an interpolation not from the hand of John. See my work, *De Christiano capitis poenæ vel admittendæ vel repudiandæ fundamento*, p. 26 sq. However, I consider Joh. vii. 53—viii. 2 as genuine, on the ground that otherwise *αὐτοῖς*, Joh. viii. 12, has no antecedent to refer it to. So, too, we find many MSS. which mark this Perikope either as unauthentic or suspicious. See Schulz, and Lücke *in loc.*

⁵ Against these express statements the objections of Jacobi, p. 870 sq., who thinks a longer time necessary for these discourses of Jesus, appear trifling. Indeed, his ground of objection, that too many discourses are related for so short a time, may be at once practically refuted, if we refer to John's narrative of the last night spent by our Lord with His disciples.

i.e. the 25th Tisri = Oct. 22nd. At this time many of those who had come up to Jerusalem to the feast were still tarrying in the city, and immediately afterwards, Joh. x. 21, our Lord appears to have withdrawn from Judea, as He had done at an earlier period after the Passover, iii. 22, on account of the danger which threatened His followers as well as Himself. However, on the ensuing Feast of Dedication (which from the time of the Maccabees¹ was celebrated for eight days from the 25th of Kisleu) He again appeared at Jerusalem,² and being once more exposed to persecution, v. 39, departed immediately for Bethany in Peræa, v. 40.³ John does not tell us exactly how long He stayed in Peræa, but it cannot have been a very short time, since "many" πολλοί believed on Him there, Joh. x. 42.⁴

Joh. xi. 1—54⁵ treats of our Lord's last journey but one to Judea, with its termination, His sojourn in Ephraim on the southern boundary of Samaria. We have no exact knowledge of the initial point of this journey, nor of the length of time passed by Him in Ephraim; we only know that in consequence of the hostility of the Pharisaic party in the Sanhedrim,⁶ our Lord remained only a very short time in the Bethany near Jerusalem, and a longer period, but at most not more than from four to six weeks, at Ephraim. The 15th Nisan, 783 A.U.C., fell on April 7th, and as our Lord reached Bethany six days before the Passover,⁷ after a long circuit from Ephraim through the midst of Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa, He must have commenced His last journey to Judea some considerable time previously.

We shall now, in conclusion, examine how far the accounts of our Lord's last journey given by the Synoptists harmonize Lu. xvii. 11—xix. 28, Mar. x. 1—52, Matt. xix. 1—xx. 34. We shall commence, as before, by giving the relation of the text in a tabular form.

In this section Matthew inserts some discourses out of their proper places (*e.g.* No. 7, and No. 1 *a*), which, as we have already seen, is accounted for by the nature of his

¹ 1 Macc. iv. 56.

² Joh. x. 22.

³ Cf. Joh. i. 28.

⁴ Cf. Jacobi, *u. s.* p. 881.

⁵ Cf. Lu. xiii. 22—xvii. 10.

⁶ Joh. xi. 47, 53.

⁷ Joh. xii. 1.

	LUKE.	MARK.	MATT.	TIME.	PLACE.
1 a	xvii. 11—xviii. 14			ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.	διήρχετο διὰ μέσου Σαμαρ. καὶ Γαλιλ.
1 b		x. 1—12	xix. 1—12	μετήρην ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλάας καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδ.	διὰ τ. πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.
2	xviii. 15—17	x. 13—16	xix. 13—15	Matt. τότε.	
3 a	xviii. 18—30	x. 17—31	xix. 16—19, 30	Mar. ἐκπορευομ. αὐτοῦ εἰς δδόν.	
3 b			xx. 1—16		
4	xviii. 31—34	x. 32—34	xx. 17—19	Mar. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ δδὴ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱερουσα. Matt. ἀναβ. δ Ἱησ. εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ.	
5				Matt. τότε.	
6 a		x. 35—45 x. 46—52	xx. 20—28 xx. 29—34		Lu. ἐν τῷ ἐγγίσειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱεριχώ. Mar. and Matt. ἐκπορευομ. αὐτ. ἀπὸ Ἱεριχώ.
6 b	xix. 1—10				καὶ εἰσελθὼν διήρχετο τὴν Ἱεριχώ.
7	xix. 11—28		(xxv. 14—30)		Lu. διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Gospel. In other respects, the agreement of the synoptical arrangement is so great as to leave us nothing to discuss save the notices of place in No. 1, and No. 6 *a*.

We learn from Luke xvii. 11 (No. 1), that our Lord set out for Jerusalem through the midst of Samaria and Galilee. We should, therefore, at once conclude that he did not return through Samaria, but continued his journey to Judea through Peræa, and we should be confirmed in our view by finding that at a later period¹ He visited Jericho. This conclusion drawn from Luke is expressly affirmed by the other synoptists, who tell us² that our Lord did actually travel from Galilee to Judea through Peræa. On the other hand, it seems that we must recognize a real contradiction—unimportant though it be—since (No. 6) the same miraculous cure of a blind man appears to be placed by Luke and Mark on different sides of Jericho. This difficulty, however, may be solved, if one has any faith at all in the credibility of the Evangelists, by assuming two cases of cure, one on either side of the city, which will appear all the more tenable when we consider that neither of the Evangelists was bound to record *all* the miracles of this nature, while each of them has recorded that which had an importance for him according to the connection prevailing in his Gospel. The main point with Mark was to record that the miracle was performed in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.³ Luke, on the other hand, in consequence of his introducing the narrative of Zacchæus, which we find in him alone,⁴ wished to shew that our Lord had made a considerable impression on the people before He entered Jericho,⁵ with a view of explaining how it was that Zacchæus and others were attracted to the spectacle of His entrance. That this mode of harmonizing the narratives is no mere idle attempt, we may almost infer from Matthew, who actually records the cure of two blind men, though in obedience to his comprehensive plan, he makes them both happen in the same place.

¹ Lu. xix. 1.

² Mar. x. 1, Matt. xix. 1.

³ Mar. x. 52, xi. 1.

⁴ Lu. xix. 1—10.

⁵ Lu. xviii. 43, *καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ Θεῷ*, a clause peculiar to Luke.

SECTION V.

FROM OUR LORD'S LAST KINGLY ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM TO HIS
DEATH AND BURIAL. PASSION WEEK.

THE text for this period of six, or if we reckon from our Lord's arrival at Bethany, seven days is given, Lu. xix. 29—xxiii. 55, Mar. xi. 1—xv. 47, Matt. xxi. 1—xxvii. 61, Joh. xii. 12—xix. 42.

Considering the deep importance that has always been given to the passion and death of Christ, both by the Christian consciousness, and in the proclamation of the Gospel, we might anticipate that this section would be treated with peculiar care by the Evangelists. And yet, even here, the discrepancy between them must be acknowledged, which, if real, would certainly be productive of important results, especially in a chronological point of view. In regard especially to the central point of the whole, the day of our Lord's death, the most contrary views have been entertained by expositors.¹

¹ [Wieseler's conclusions are not accepted by Tischendorf, who interpreting John's words, xiii. 1, xix. 14, 31, 42, in their plain and most natural sense, decides that our Lord's Last Supper with His disciples was not the legal Paschal Supper. His brief summary of the arguments against Wieseler's view may be consulted with advantage. *Synopsis Evangelica*, xlv. xlvi. His conclusion is thus stated: "Apparet igitur errasse Synopticos quod coenam Jesu ultimam non distinxerunt a legitima coena paschali." Wieseler's view has been ably controverted by Bleek, *Beiträge zur Evangelien-Kritik*, 1846, pp. 107—156 (cf. pp. 33—39), which has appeared so convincing to Ebrard as to lead him to revoke his former decision on the point. *Wissenschaftliche Kritik*, pp. 505—517. Weitzel has come to the same conclusion. *Die Christliche Passafest der ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1848. See also Winer's pamphlet "*Δείπνον* Joann xiii. num *πάσχα* quæritur."—Tr.]

We shall do well, then, first to clear up this main point, with the view of afterwards arranging and deciding on the others.

CHAPTER I.

THE DAY OF OUR LORD'S DEATH.

THREE questions here propose themselves. (1) On what day of the week was our Lord crucified? (2) Did His crucifixion take place on the day before, or the day after the evening on which, in accordance with the law, the Paschal Supper was eaten, *i.e.* on the 14th, or 15th of Nisan; and did the institution of His supper, the "Cœna Domini," take place on the occasion of this Paschal Supper? (3) In what year, and on what day of the Julian calendar did our Lord suffer? The warmth with which the chronology, and arrangement of the events of Passion week have been contested from the very earliest times, renders it the more essential that these questions should be separately discussed.¹

§ 1. *On what day of the week was our Lord crucified?*

The unanimous answer of the Evangelists is "on a Friday." Luke, after speaking of our Lord's burial, which followed immediately on His death, says² "it was the *παρασκευή*," *i.e.* "it was Friday." And what he immediately adds, "the sabbath drew on," agrees with this. Besides, the day following the *παρασκευή*, on which the women who had been present at our Lord's burial rested, is called the "Sabbath," *i.e.* Saturday,³ and⁴ it was "on

¹ For the literature of this controversy, comp. Thiess, *Krit. Commentar.* i. 363. Usteri, *Comm. in quâ Evang. Joan. genuinum esse ex comparatis 4 Evang. narrationibus de Cœna ultima et passione J. C. ostenditur.* Turici, 1823, p. 13 sq. Sieffert, *Ursprung des Kanon Evang.* p. 127 sq. Lücke, *Joh. xviii.* 28. Tholuck, *John xiii.* 1. Hase, *Leben Jesu*, p. 171 sq. Winer, *R. W. B.* "Pascha."

² Lu. xxiii. 54.

³ Lu. xxiii. 56.

⁴ Lu. xxiv. 1.

the first day of the week," *i.e.* on Sunday, "very early in the morning," that they came to the sepulchre. In Mark, too, the day of our Lord's death is called *παρασκευή*, which is explained by the universally intelligible addition *ὅ ἐστι προσάββατον*. When the sabbath was over, that is on Saturday evening, the women brought spices. "Very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre."¹ Matthew defines the day succeeding that of our Lord's death with still greater precision by adding, *ἥτις ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν*;² and describes the hour of the day of resurrection when the women were hastening to the sepulchre, as *τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων*.³ John, too, agrees with the Synoptists. He also places the day of crucifixion on a *παρασκευή*⁴ which is followed by a sabbath, *v.* 31, and it is on Sunday morning that Mary Magdalene visits the grave of Him who had risen.⁵ All four Evangelists, therefore, agree in naming Friday, or the *παρασκευή*, as the day of our Lord's death.

This is the case, also, in the passage so often and so seriously misinterpreted, Joh. xix. 14, *ἣν δὲ παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα*. The word *παρασκευή* taken in connection with Joh. xix. 31—42, where it is used of Friday, leads to the same conclusion (adopted by Clausen,⁶ Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg⁷), viz. that Friday is specified as the day of our Lord's death. The greater number of expositors, however, (De Wette, Lücke, Krabbe, Winer, Meyer, etc.) regard this as untenable on philological grounds. *Παρασκευή*, they say, by virtue of the addition of *τοῦ πάσχα*, can only imply the day of preparation for the Passover, *i.e.* the day of preparation preceding the 15th of Nisan, or the 14th Nisan;⁸ from which it would follow, that, on the one

¹ Mar. xvi. 2. Cf. *v.* 3.

² Matt. xxvii. 62.

³ Matt. xxvii. 1.

⁴ Joh. xix. 31, 42.

⁵ Joh. xx. 1.

⁶ *Quatuor Evang. tabulæ Synopticæ*. Havniæ, 1729, p. 148.

⁷ *Evangelische Kirchenzeit.* 1838. No. 98—102.

⁸ The day of preparation, or work-day immediately preceding the Passover, was the 13th of Nisan, since, according to the practice then observed by the Jews, the 14th was already counted as belonging to the feast, Matt. xxvi. 17, Mar. xiv. 12, Lu. xxii. 7. But if we interpret *παρασκ. τ. πάσχα* in this way, the still more startling contradiction will arise that our Lord, according to John, had already eaten His last meal on the 12th of Nisan, and was crucified on the

hand, our Lord suffered before the Paschal Supper was eaten by the Jews, on the evening of the 14th Nisan, and on the other, that nothing is stated in this passage about the day of the week when the crucifixion took place. If the Friday during the Paschal Feast were intended, it is asserted that παρασκ. τοῦ σαββάτου τοῦ πάσχα, or παρασκ. ἐν τῷ πάσχα must have been the words used. The premiss on which this objection is founded is, that the meaning of παρασκ. τοῦ πάσχ. may, nay must be "the day of preparation for the Passover." But, which of itself ought to be decisive, not one single example can be brought to prove this usage. At any rate, then, till this is done, we may safely consider the exact reverse of this view as philologically established. For, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that παρασκευή without the addition of τοῦ σαββάτου was an ordinary expression of the Jews who spoke Greek to denote our Friday.¹ Even in ecclesiastical writers παρασκευή very usually stood for this day.² From constant use the original meaning of the word was lost sight of, just as among ourselves, when using the word "Sunday," no one thinks of its etymology as "the day of the sun:" nor can the phrase be deemed incomplete or indefinite, unless we think of our own German "preparation day," which is with us no immediate synonym of "Friday." But why might not John speak as justly of a παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα,³ i.e. "a Friday in the Paschal week," as Ignatius,⁴ of "a Sabbath in the Paschal season" (σάββατον τ. πάσχα), and the ecclesiastical historian Socrates,⁵ of "a Sabbath of the Feast" (σάββ. τ. ἐορτῆς), Hippolytus in his Easter-

13th, while, according to the Synoptists, He ate His Paschal Supper with the Jews, and was crucified on the day following, or the 15th of Nisan.

¹ Cf. Lu. xxiii. 54, Mar. xv. 42, Matt. xxvii. 62, Joh. xix. 31, 42, Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2: ἐγγύας τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐννάτης (employed here in an imperial decree), and (in illustration of the passage in Mark) Judith viii. 6, a passage of great importance for the names and meaning of the Jewish feasts. The Friday is also styled, Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10. 7, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, i.e. the προσάββατον.

² Suicer, *sub voc.*

³ The use of πάσχα to denote the whole of the seven days of the Paschal Feast is thoroughly characteristic of John. Comp. Joh. ii. 13, 23, vi. 4, xi. 55, xii. 1 (?), xiii. 1. See p. 251.

⁴ *Epist. ad Philipp.* c. 13.

⁵ *Hist. Eccl.* v. 22.

table, "of the Christian Easter Sundays" (*αἱ κυριακαὶ τοῦ πάσχα κατ' ἔτος*¹), etc. ? De Wette allows the force of the arguments we have brought against his interpretation "preparation for the Passover," but believes that he can justify it by an appeal to Talmudic usage: he says, "παρασκευή corresponds to the Hebrew ערב, and as ערב הפסח is the evening before the Passover, so παρασκ. τ. πάσχ. is the preparation for the Passover." There is no doubt that ערב הפסח, "the Passover eve," indicates the 14th of Nisan, and yet, the conclusion drawn therefrom may be erroneous, because its premiss, that παρασκευή corresponds to ערב, is false. For how can it be imagined that ערב, "evening," standing by itself, can mean "Friday" in the same way that παρασκευή does? The Talmudic ערבנות answers to this latter expression, so that an example of this use of the word ought to be adduced. We must, therefore, conclude that παρασκ. τ. πάσχ. by itself, and on philological grounds, specifies Friday in the Passion week, as the day of our Lord's death, and that those expositors who understand it of the day of preparation

¹ The name παρασκευή, "day of preparation" = "Friday," appears to have been formed with special reference to the word ערב, Exod. xvi. 5, which, when taken in connection with vv. 22—29, may be considered one of the fundamental passages for the ordinance respecting the peculiar nature of the sixth day. It therefore denotes the day on which the provisions were to be prepared, so as not to break the rest of the following sabbath, which is certainly characteristic of the sixth day. Besides, the Talmudic expression for Friday, ערבנות, i.e. the day when the ערוב was made (on which comp. the Tract ערובים), refers to this fundamental passage. Παρασκευή, "preparation," = "day of preparation," is to be interpreted in the same way as פסח, ὑπέρβασις, *Passover*, for "the Feast of the Passover," or the Lamb, in the sacrifice and eating of which the feast culminated, or as τὰ ἄζυμα, "the unleavened" for "the feast of unleavened bread," etc. When once the above interpretation of παρασκευή is recognized as the true one, it is plain even *à priori* that παρασκ. cannot be taken for any eve of a feast. Which is indeed *à priori* improbable, since the sixth day of the week differed in several essential particulars from the eve of a festival. So this day of the week received the particular name of προάββατον, Judith viii. 6, which, according to Mark xv. 42, answers to our παρασκευή. On the other hand, the eve of a feast would, according to analogy, be called προεόρτιος or προεόρτος, as indeed Philo calls it.

before the Passover, as even De Wette immediately afterwards intimates, must appeal to other expressions in John's Gospel, according to which the day of our Lord's death is represented as occurring before the Passover. These objections we shall subsequently examine.

It deserves notice, that some exegetists have fixed our Lord's crucifixion on another day of the week than Friday. Among modern writers, we may name Schneckenburger, in his *Contributions to an Introduction to the New Testament*, in the treatise "On the Chronology of Passion Week," p. 1—15. His opinion is, that our Lord was crucified on Wednesday, the 15th of Nisan; rested in the grave for three days, and rose on the fourth day, Sunday, the 19th of Nisan. To say nothing of the confusion this chronological arrangement makes in the narrative of the Synoptists, its fundamental error consists in identifying the παρασκευή in John with the 16th of Nisan, or the "feast of the wave-sheaf." Two proofs are alleged in support of this; Philo, *De Septenar. et fest.* § 21,¹ and Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii. 22.² But even if we pay no regard to John's ordinary mode of expression,³ these passages, of themselves, prove nothing. For as regards Philo, it is taken for granted, that his προέορτος is the same as παρασκευή,⁴ a point which, after what we have seen above, may well be doubted. But, admitting these premisses, John must in that case have spoken of a παρασκευή τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, not as he does of a παρασκευή τοῦ πασχα or παρασκευή simply. Equally groundless is the assertion that Origen, in the above-quoted passage—certainly of considerable importance in determining the antiquity and origin of the Christian festivals,—"designates the Passover the παρασκευή for the πεντηκοστή as a κυριακή." For the position of the words, the construction of the sentence, and immediate

¹ Ed. Mangey, Tom. ii. p. 294: τοσαυτας ἔχουσα προνομίας ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ δράγματι πατήγυρις (the feast of the wave-sheaf) ποσέοτος ἐστὶν ἑτέρας ἑορτῆς μέγιστος· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας πεντηκοστὴ ἀριθμεῖται.

² I. c. ἐὰν δέ τις πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνθυποφέρῃ τὰ περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν κυριακῶν ἢ παρασκευῶν ἢ τοῦ πασχα ἢ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς δι' ἡμερῶν γινόμενα, κ. τ. λ.

³ Comp. Joh. Alb. Bengel, *Proof that Christ died not on Wednesday, but on Friday.* 1746.

⁴ Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. 648, gives the right interpretation of προέορτος.

context, all shew Origen is speaking of four different ecclesiastical festivals; the weekly recurring Sundays (*κυριακαί*), and Fridays (*παρασκευαί*), which commemorate the death and resurrection of Christ, on the one hand, and the yearly festivals, Easter and Pentecost, on the other. *Παρασκευή* has, therefore, here also the usual meaning of a Friday, on which day of the week Christians were already accustomed to fast.

On the whole, then, it seems to me beyond a doubt that, according to the collective testimony of the Evangelists, our Lord was crucified on a Friday afternoon, and rose from the grave early on Sunday morning. The Church, therefore, is right in regarding and keeping (Good) Friday, as the day of our Lord's death.

§ 2. *Was our Lord crucified on the fifteenth or fourteenth of Nisan?*

After having determined that our Lord was crucified on a Friday, we have next to enquire whether this day was the fifteenth, or fourteenth of Nisan, and consequently, whether the meal of which our Lord partook with His disciples the evening before His sufferings and death, and at which He instituted His "Supper," was the Paschal Supper or not. As the following argument is based on a certain definite view of the celebration of the Jewish Paschal Supper, and the most various opinions are entertained as to the day when this was observed, this must be the first point discussed. In doing this it appears to me that we must not depend so much on the statements of the Old Testament as on the form of celebration prevailing in Palestine in our Lord's days, so far as we can discover it from the nearly contemporaneous writings of the New Testament and of Josephus, and (though here some caution is required), from those of Philo on the one side, and of the Talmud (though partly of a later date) on the other. At the same time, it may be assumed *à priori* that the later usage was in the main regulated by the fundamental passages of the Old Testament; so that in throwing light on the one, we render the other more clear. This examination is all the more necessary since every new arrange-

ment of the history of our Lord's Passion proceeds upon a new view of the Old Testament ordinance. It will, at the same time, be of course essential for us to be guided by the notes of time given in the Pentateuch.¹

The fundamental passages of the Pentateuch are, Ex. xii. 1—8, xiii. 1—10, Lev. xxiii. 5—14, Numb. xxviii. 16—25, Deut. xvi. 1—8, comp. Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18. The time and duration of the feast is perfectly plain from Ex. xii. 1, xiii. 10. "Seven days" was unleavened bread to be eaten, Ex. xii. 15, xiii. 6, 7, from the 14th day of the month Abib or Nisan, even to the 21st day of the month at even, v. 18. The feast began by the killing of the Paschal lamb on the 14th Nisan, between the two evenings בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים. It is perfectly clear that by this we must not understand (according to our mode of expression) the evening of the 13th Nisan, as is done by some writers of whom we shall speak hereafter. And this, partly from the circumstance that at the Paschal Supper unleavened bread was already eaten,² partly from the fact that the departure of the Israelites which followed immediately upon this supper,³ of which the Passover was in memorial, took place in the night between the 14th and 15th of Nisan,⁴ immediately after midnight,⁵ and therefore, very early in the morning of the day following the Passover מִמָּוֹרֶת הַפֶּסַח. All this is in accordance with the statement Lev. xxiii. 5—14, that the Passover should begin on the 14th between the evenings,⁶ and that seven days counting from the 15th, i.e. to the evening of the 21st, were reckoned for the feast of unleavened bread.⁷ The language here adopted draws a distinction between the "Feast of the Passover" פֶּסַח, and that of "unleavened bread" (חֵן הַמִּצּוֹת, ἐορτὴ τῶν

¹ We have little concern with the nature of the mode of celebrating the festival, hardly any with the difference between it and the so-called *Pascha Ægyptiacum*, and the *Pascha sequentium ætatum*. On the whole subject, see Bähr, *Symbolik*, II. 643 sq. Winer, *R. W. B. "Pascha."*

² Ex. xii. 31.

³ Ex. xii. 8.

⁴ Ex. xii. 4; Numb. xxxiii. 3.

⁵ Ex. xii. 29.

⁶ Comp. Ex. xii. 8.

⁷ See also Numb. xxviii. 17, 25; ix. 3. In a similar way the so-called "second Passover" was observed on the 14th of the second month (Ijar) between the evenings. Numb. ix. 10. Comp. 2 Chron. xxx.

ἀζύμων, τὰ ἀζύμα), because there was a real distinction between the facts on which they were historically based. For the same reason, the flesh of the Paschal lamb killed between the evenings of the 14th of Nisan, might be eaten only in the night between the 14th and 15th, for with the morning of the 15th, the Passover proper was at an end. In conclusion, the entire festival, with reference to its all important initial point, is styled the Passover,¹ Deut. xvi. 1—8, just in the same way as in verse 4, the whole, including the Passover, strictly so called, receives the general name of “the feast of unleavened bread,” and a period of seven days is assigned to it.²

During the Paschal season, in addition to the ordinary weekly sabbath, which fell during its course, three days were observed as special feasts, viz. the first, second, and seventh; i.e. the 15th of Nisan, including the evening of the 14th, the 16th, and the 21st. On the first day two separate festivals were kept, at the commencement, i.e. in the evening, the festival of the Paschal Lamb, lasting far on into the night, and in the morning³ the feast of unleavened bread in a stricter sense.

The Paschal lamb was to be slain at the holy place, and according to the technical expression בֶּן־הָעֶרְבָּיִם,⁴ for which the bare עֶרֶב, is found Josh. v. 10, a time more precisely fixed, Deut. xvi. 6, by “at the going down of the sun, the season thou camest out of Egypt.” The meaning of this technical expression has been a subject of much contention, and that from very early times: the Karaites and Samari-

¹ This is regularly the case in the Talmud, and the Gospel of John. And it corresponds with this when we find the 15th of Nisan, including, according to the Jewish mode of viewing it, the evening of the 14th, on which the Paschal lamb had to be brought in (whence the name) called in its stricter sense Pascha (Jos. v. 11, and Talmud *passim*); and also the *Chagiga*, which had to be brought in on the morning of the 15th Nisan (and exceptionally on the evening of the 14th), eaten at the same time with the Paschal lamb. 2 Chron. xxv. 1—17, Tract פסחים, ch. 6, § 3.

² Comp. Ezek. xlv. 21—24; Josh. v. 10; Ex. vi. 19—22; 2 Chron. xxx. xxxv.

³ We find from Numb. xxviii. 23 that the public sacrifice peculiar to the festival had to be offered besides the daily morning sacrifice.

⁴ Ex. xii. 6; Lev. xxiii. 5; Numb. ix. 3, 5.

tans on the one hand interpreting it of the period between sunset and dark (6—7 o'clock), and the Pharisees and Rabbins on the other, of that from the gradual declining of the sun till its actual setting (3—5 o'clock). At the present time nearly all the world has decided for the former view. The following arguments appear to me decisive. *First*, every interpretation is erroneous which makes it depend *exclusively* on its use in connection with the Paschal Supper. For it is a term employed to fix the time in other cases; *e.g.* that of the evening sacrifice, Ex. xxix. 39, 41, that of the daily lighting of the lamps, xxx. 8, that of eating, xvi. 12. *Secondly*, the general meaning of the phrases בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים and בֶּעֶרְבַּי must be the same, since they are interchanged when speaking of the same subject, *e.g.* Ex. xii. 6, comp. Deut. xvi. 6, Ex. xvi. 12, comp. v. 13, the only difference being that the fuller expression "ב" has a more precise and definite meaning than the bare בֶּעֶרְבַּי. *Finally*, we can scarcely be wrong in regarding the preposition בֵּין as referring not to a *point* but to a *space* of time. Indeed this meaning has always been attached to it by the contending parties.¹ The phrase literally translated is "between the two evening glooms."² Its use presupposes a double evening, an earlier and a later, among the ancient Hebrews, the interval between which appears to have been intended. We have an authentic explanation from which we may see how the limits of the two evenings may be interpreted in Deut. xvi. 6. In this passage instead of describing the time when the Paschal lamb was to be slain as בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים, בֶּעֶרְבַּי is simply used with the addition, "at the going down of the sun." This gives us the mean time of the wider and less definite expression "ב" ה', and we must therefore under-

¹ It is by these Canons that we must examine Hitzig's view, *Ostern- und Pfingsten*, pp. 17, 18, that בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים is to be regarded as an exempt point of division between the evenings of the 14th and 15th, (besides, if a point of division were intended, the preposition ב would not have been omitted before בֵּין), which was regarded as thus exempt, because the 14th of Nisan was always a weekly sabbath.

² For the etymology of ערב, see Maurer, *Commentary on the Psalms*, p. 146.

stand by it the time of sunset, including a short time before and a short time after, *i.e.* from 5 to 7 o'clock. Both of the contending parties were, as is frequently the case, partly in the right; the one being correct as to the beginning, the other as to the end of the true period. The truth, however, as we have seen, lies more on the side of the Karaites and Samaritans. The Pharisees in their anxiety to justify from the Scriptures the ritual which in later times necessity had forced them to adopt, were driven to do violence to the passage in question. We find an instructive parallel to our explanation¹ of עֶרְבַּיִם in the duals employed to denote times of the day, שְׁתֵּי צִהִיִּים "two dawns," צִהִיִּים "two brightnesses," *i.e.* the limits of the greatest brightness of the day. This latter expression was at that time employed for the period lying between two boundaries, *i.e.* our "mid-day," including about an hour before and after. In former days when men had no clocks they had to be content with such and such like modes of fixing the time of day, which already admitted of some degree of precision.

The first day of the feast of unleavened bread was looked on almost as a sabbath,² and on this account was even called by that name.³ On this and on the seventh day (21st Nisan) "a holy convocation" was to be held and "no servile work" done.⁴ On the second day, 16th Nisan, the wave-sheaf of the first-fruits was to be brought, after which the harvest legally commenced, and the eating of the new corn was permitted.⁵ The date of this ceremonial is expressly stated, *vv.* 11, 15, to be the next morning after the festival sabbath (15th Nisan) מִמּוֹחֶרֶת הַשַּׁבָּת, for which the

¹ The LXX. generally render בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים with perfect correctness *πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ὁ ἀνήμερον τῶν ἑσπερινῶν*. With this may be compared the δαίτη πρωτα and ὀψία of the Greeks and our twilight.

² It was regarded *nearly* as a sabbath, since the purchase and preparation of provisions which was forbidden on a true sabbath, was allowed, as on all other festivals, with the exception of the great Day of Atonement, a strict fast-day, unless they coincided with a weekly sabbath. (Ex. xii. 16, Tract מילה, ch. 1, § 8.)

³ Lev. xxiii. 11—15.

⁴ Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii 7, 8; Numb. xxviii. 17—25; Deut. xvi. 8.

⁵ Lev. xxiii. 10—14.

corresponding terminus *מִמָּחֶרֶת הַפֶּסַח* is found, Josh. v. 11. From this date, the morning of the 16th of Nisan, seven full weeks were counted, so that on the fiftieth day from it "the feast of weeks" (*πεντηκοστή*) was celebrated.¹ This statement will prove the perfect harmony of all that is said in the Old Testament with reference to the time of the the Paschal Feast, and also that the seven days' feast of unleavened bread did not commence till the 14th of Nisan, *בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים*.

This arrangement remained in all essential points unaltered in our Lord's days. At that time but few variations deserving attention had been introduced, for which the most trustworthy authority is the historian Josephus, who it must be remembered was also a priest, whom we shall depend upon in the following investigation.

The passage of the chief importance is *Ant.* III. x. 5. 6. Here Josephus, as in Lev. xxiii. and Numb. xxviii., distinguishes the Passover (on the 14th of Nisan, *בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים*, comp. *Ant.* II. 14. 6—15. 2) from the feast of unleavened bread to which he assigns a duration of seven days, from the 15th to the 21st of Nisan. On the 16th of Nisan the wave-sheaf was offered, and on the fiftieth day after this the Feast of Pentecost was celebrated. So far the agreement is perfect. Now succeed some differences which are not without importance for our enquiry. In the Mosaic ordinance special importance was laid on the injunction that during the seven days no unleavened bread was to be found in their houses. The Pharisees, however, in their spirit of over-scrupulosity, laid down that on the previous morning, 14th of Nisan, search should be made through the houses for anything leavened, that it might be carried away. This was ordained in the same scrupulous spirit in which they reduced the *forty* stripes commanded by the law for certain offences, to "forty stripes save one,"² thus rendering it more certain that even if with all their caution a single blow was left uncounted, the letter of the law, permitting no more than forty stripes, would not be

¹ Lev. xxiii. 15—22; Deut. xvi. 9—12.

² *Τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν*, 2 Cor. xi. 24.

broken. Josephus who, following the Mosaic ordinance, usually reckons no more than seven days to the feast, yet in a single passage expressly indicates a change in the religious observance of the Jews as having already taken place in his day, remarking of the *ἐορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων*, *Ant.* II. 15. 1, that it lasted eight days (*ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ*) i.e. from the morning of the 14th to the evening of the 21st of Nisan. This, too, is evidenced by the express statement of the Talmud,¹ that the search for leaven in the houses must be made in the night preceding the 14th of Nisan in order that it might be put away by mid-day, and nothing leavened eaten afterwards. Testimony to the same effect is borne by the Synoptical Evangelists when they say that Jesus set out for Jerusalem on "the first day of unleavened bread" (*τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων*) for the purpose of eating the legal Passover, according to the law, on the evening of that day,² for it is evident from these passages that the day before the Passover was made ready was reckoned as belonging to the feast of unleavened bread.

Another deviation had also been introduced as regards the time when the Paschal lamb was to be slain. The time ordained by the law, *בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים*, which properly denoted from 5 to 7 o'clock in the evening, was thus understood to mean the space from the 9th to the 11th hour, i.e. from 3 to 5 o'clock in the afternoon, which, according to Josephus,³ had been introduced also into the ritual of the temple.⁴ Philo agrees with the above, naming three distinct feasts, *τὸ πάσχα* on the 14th Nisan, *τὰ ἀζύμα* on the 15th, and *τὸ δράγμα* (the wave-sheaf) on the 16th, and fifty days subsequently, the Feast of Pentecost.⁵

¹ Tract *ספחים*, ch. 1, § 1—5.

² Mark xiv. 12 sq.; Matt. xxvi. 17; Luke xxii. 7.

³ *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3. *Ἐνστάσης ἐορτῆς (πάσχα καλεῖται) καθ' ἣν θύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ ἐννάτης ὥρας μέχρι ἐνδεκάτης.* So Philo, *de Septenario*, p. 292, *ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἕως ἑσπέρας.* (The day, in the afternoon of which the Passover was killed, is immediately afterwards called the 14th of Nisan.) So also the daily evening sacrifice, the time for offering which is designated by *בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים* in the Old Testament, was at that time, *Ant.* xiv. 4. 3, offered *περὶ ἐννάτην ὥραν*, and Tract *ספחים*, ch. 8, § 1, regularly between half-past eight and half-past nine.

⁴ Comp. Tract *ספחים*, ch. 5, § 1—3.

⁵ *u. s.* 292—294.

From what has been said it is sufficiently evident that the hypothesis of Rauch¹ and Schneckenburger,² which places the eating of the Paschal lamb on the evening of the 13th of Nisan,³ is quite untenable, whether we look at the ordinances of the Old Testament, or the ritual and tradition prevailing in our Lord's days.

The uniform result of our investigation up to this point has been, that the several days of the Paschal season were connected only with certain definite days of the month, between the 14th and the 21st of Nisan. We must now examine two other views, according to which certain definite days of the week were assigned to them. If these are correct we must at once return a negative answer to the enquiry whether our Lord partook of the Paschal lamb, according to law, on the evening before He suffered. The former of these maintains that the 21st of Nisan, and therefore also the 14th, *i.e.* the day on which the Paschal Lamb was eaten, must have always been a Saturday; the latter, that at any rate in our Lord's days, it never could have been a Friday. The former has been lately maintained by Hitzig in two treatises.⁴ The latter is attempted to be grounded partly on the Old Testament, by a new

¹ *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832. Part III. p. 537.

² *Beiträg. z. Einleit.* p. 14.

³ Ebrard, in his work quoted above, p. 20, even assumes that the Passover was eaten by one half of those who came up to the feast on the evening of the 13th, and by the other half on that of the 14th of Nisan, *i.e.* on two different days! The objection drawn from Joseph. *de Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, that the attendants were too numerous for the killing of the Paschal lamb to be performed in a few hours of the afternoon has been already met by Haverkamp on the passage. (Comp. Tract *פסחים*, ch. 5, § 5—7.) The assumption that the priests had to kill the Paschal lambs is also erroneous. (Comp. Winer, *R. W. B.* "Pascha.") Carpzovius, *Apparat. Critic.* p. 430, follows several ancient writers in assuming a double legal Passover—one on the 13th, after the true or astronomical new moon, and another on the 14th, after the first appearance of the moon's crescent, and that the Synoptists speak of the former, John of the latter. But this is evidently a complete mistake, originating from a desire to harmonize the various accounts. Nothing is more certain than that the Jewish feasts were celebrated entirely in accordance with the phases of the moon.

⁴ *Ostern und Pfingsten, Sendschreiben an Ideler*, Heidelb. 1837; and *O. und P. Sendschreiben an Schweizer*, Heidelb. 1838.

interpretation of Lev. xxiii. 5—22, partly—as indeed is absolutely necessary for the matter we have in hand—from Josephus and the New Testament for the usage in our Lord's days. The following is the substance of the argument as far as regards the Old Testament.

Hitzig interprets the *מִשְׁכַּחַת הַשַּׁבָּת*¹ of a day following the weekly sabbath, i.e. of the 22nd of Nisan, assuming that the 21st always fell on a Saturday. From this 22nd of Nisan, the seven *שַׁבָּתוֹת* = weeks,² which always closed with an ordinary sabbath, were to be counted so that the Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, might be kept on the fiftieth day, or Sunday. Hitzig's objections to the ordinary interpretation of *הַשַּׁבָּת מִמָּחָר*, which understands *הַשַּׁבָּת* of the 15th Nisan, whether it were a Saturday or not, are entirely philological, and rest on the use of the word *שַׁבָּת*. He argues that in this place *שַׁבָּת* can mean nothing but a Saturday, and also that *שַׁבָּתוֹת* can only be used for *שַׁבָּעוֹת* if the weeks meant close on each occasion with an ordinary weekly sabbath. Now as to the first point, the word *שַׁבָּת* signifies etymologically "day of rest," so that Josephus is perfectly correct in interpreting it *ἀνάπαυσις ἀπὸ παντός ἐργου*. Inasmuch as God rested on the seventh day from His work of creation,³ man, His image, ought also to rest on the seventh day from his daily work.⁴ There is therefore no *à priori* exclusive reference to the seventh day of the week in the meaning of the word. On the contrary, there is an evident distinction drawn between the idea of "the seventh day of the week" and "the sabbath" in such passages as those where we read "on the seventh day there shall be a sabbath."⁵ Although therefore the seventh day was ordinarily termed the sabbath, *par excellence*, it was only so because that even in relation to the other "feast days" it was the most perfect "day of rest," so that the idea of the sabbath received in it its most complete realization. It is therefore self-evident that other

¹ Lev. xxiii. 11—16.

² Lev. xxiii. 15.

³ Gen. ii. 1, 2.

⁴ Gen. i. 2, 3; Ex. xxxi. 13—17.

⁵ Ex. xxxi. 15, xxxv. 2; Lev. xxiii. 3.

less complete days of rest commanded by the law, might in accordance with the fundamental meaning of the word be called sabbaths, especially when this term was simply used as a predicate of another otherwise well-known day, and thus all ambiguity avoided. But we need not restrict ourselves to arguments; we can prove our position by facts. The new moon of the month Tisri is called שַׁבָּת;¹ so also the first and eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles²; while the Day of Atonement, which as regards cessation from work stood the nearest to the seventh day of the week, is even called שַׁבָּת שַׁבָּת³ (*per prædicatum*), and in the first quoted passage, immediately afterwards שַׁבָּת, without the intervention of the copula. It is therefore only reasonable for the Talmudists to draw a distinction between a "Sabbath of the creation" (so called from Gen. ii. 1—3), *i.e.* an ordinary weekly sabbath, and a "Festival Sabbath." So that we, in opposition to Hitzig, deem it at least *possible* that הַשַּׁבָּת, which, as we see from the article,⁴ refers to a day already defined by the context, may be interpreted of a Festival Sabbath. Hitzig argues thus: "It must be evident from some other verse what day is intended by the sabbath."⁵ Now the seventh day which is always (?) elsewhere called a sabbath, is actually mentioned in v. 8. This verse brings us as far as the seventh day, the last day of the feast, and in regular order of sequence the day after the sabbath is treated of. What, then, can be more simple than the view that that seventh day is the one spoken of here as הַשַּׁבָּת?" In this line of argument there are two fundamental errors. *First*, that which makes the "seventh day" mentioned v. 8 the seventh

¹ Lev. xxiii. 24.² Lev. xxiii. 39.³ Lev. xxiii. 32, xvi. 31.

⁴ The occurrence of the article is at once, irrespective of the parallels of the Old Testament and the traditional statements, a refutation of the idea of the Baithosæans (the Essenes) [Sadducees? Tr.], which in other respects decidedly favours Hitzig's hypothesis, that הַשַּׁבָּת in this place is to be interpreted not of the seventh day of the festival, but of a Saturday falling on that occasion in the Paschal season. Ideler, *Hdbch. der Chronol.* II. p. 613. However, the controversy between them and the Pharisees again only presupposes a fixed day of the month for the Passover.

⁵ vv. 11—15.

day of the week, while it is evidently merely the seventh day of the feast which is intended; and, *secondly*, that which identifies the day afterwards called *הַשְּׁבִיעִית* with the seventh and not with the first day of the feast. The first error puts the day of Pentecost on a wrong day of the week, the second on a wrong day of the month. Besides, must we not necessarily think of the seventh day of the feast when we read *v.* 6—8, "Seven days ye must eat unleavened bread. In the first day ye shall have a holy convocation, ye shall do no servile work therein. But ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the Lord seven days: in the seventh day is a holy convocation"? Whether therefore *הַשְּׁבִיעִית* is to be considered the predicate of the first or the seventh day, it must be regarded simply as a day of rest, and not at the same time as a definite day of the week, since both the first and seventh are viewed here simply as days of the feast, on which no work was to be done, and not at the same time as days of the week.

Now if either the first or the seventh day of the feast be held to have been at the same time the seventh day of the week, its pre-eminence over the other—for only one of the two could have been a Saturday—in its character as a day of rest, must have been marked,¹ which is certainly not the case; nay, the preparation of food, which was forbidden by the law on the sabbath properly so called, is permitted on both the days.² Besides, Hitzig, in making the 22nd, and consequently the 1st of Nisan, fall regularly on Sunday, is obliged to maintain that the form of the Jewish year was such that it would usually close with an incomplete week, which is not only an hypothesis not admitting of proof, but also *à priori* improbable when we remember the sanctity of the division of time into weeks in those early days. If then Hitzig's view that the 21st of Nisan always fell on a Saturday is questionable, it will scarcely derive much support from his remark that according to *v.* 15 seven full sabbaths were reckoned from the morning after the 21st to the morning of Pentecost. It is indeed true

¹ In the same chapter the seventh day of the week is expressly called *שַׁבַּת שְׁבִיעִית*.

² *Ex.* xii. 16.

that, as is usually done, he understands these seven שבתות not of seven separate days, but of seven weeks,¹ to which, as is justly remarked, we are led by the addition of the clause² הַמִּימֹת, since this cannot merely indicate that no more than five or six sabbaths should be reckoned, an error which the numeral שבע of itself obviated. He asserts, however, that שבת can only signify a week closing with a real weekly sabbath: otherwise we should have שבעת. But then the השבת, from the day after which the seven weeks were reckoned, must have been a weekly sabbath. We may dismiss this assertion with the simple remark that as the conclusion drawn is evidently erroneous, so also the premisses must be on which it is founded. Besides, we may appeal to the parallel passage, Deut. xvi. 9, 10, which interprets the שבתות of the same number שבעות, and accordingly calls the Feast of Pentecost the Feast of Weeks. Hitzig is here obliged to assume a formal contradiction between Deuteronomy and the fundamental Mosaic ordinance. But is this so trifling a matter? Besides, the contradiction would go still deeper. For in Numb. xxviii. 26 the reckoning is also by mere שבעות, and in Ex. xxxiv. 22 the Feast of Pentecost is called הַשָּׁבֹעֹת, or the feast by which the weeks were reckoned. But the selection of the expression שבתות for שבעות, Lev. xxiii. 15, appears to have been made with special reference to the object. The latter expression was not in fact sufficient to express the idea to be conveyed. The seven times seven

¹ It is perfectly analogous to find שבת שנים for a period of seven years, Lev. xxv. 8, though generally standing for a particular year, the seventh or sabbatical year. The use of *σάββατον* or *σάββατα* for weeks is well known from the New Testament, Mar. xvi. 2, 9; Lu. xxiv. 1; Joh. xx. 1, etc. This appears also in Syriac, and in the Talmud. Comp. Ideler, *Hdbch.* i. 481; Winer, *R. W. B.* "Woche."

² The Rabbins are not agreed as to the meaning of this clause. (See p. 136.) What it intends is that the forty-nine days were to be reckoned from the morning of the 16th of Nisan (מסעדת השבת) not merely to the evening before, but to the morning of the Feast of Pentecost, עד מסעדת השבת, עד.

days, with the Feast of Pentecost on its concluding fiftieth day, stand forward as the higher power of the simple seven days' interval, which, usually called *שִׁבְעָה*, ended with the festival of the seventh day, or the sabbath, and consequently took this name. Just as after seven sabbatical years the fiftieth year was celebrated, so after seven sabbatical days, the fiftieth day or Pentecost was observed. This relation of these fifty days to the sabbath—which has been admirably developed by Bähr from the nature of the Law—is, as I believe, indicated in the fundamental passage by what is said of the fifty days being made up of seven sabbaths and the closing festival. And thus it may be explained why this *שִׁבְעָה* is found only in Leviticus and not in the parallel passages in the other books of Moses; since it is in this book alone (and indeed in the next chapter but one) that the view of the year of Jubilee in connection with the seven preceding sabbatical years, which so fully corresponds with this, is brought forward.¹

If then Hitzig's view of the *מִקְרַת הַשָּׁבֹת* and the seven *שִׁבְעָה*, in so far as it determines the day of the week of the Feast of Pentecost, has a degree of plausibility on philological grounds, in consequence of which it was brought forward in early times; yet this must be altogether denied to his identification of *הַשָּׁבֹת* with the seventh day of the feast, or the 21st of Nisan, by which the Feast of Pentecost is placed on a wrong day of the month. Indeed Bähr has already remarked, in refutation of this view,² that it was impossible that the feast of the wave-sheaf could have been celebrated on the 22nd of Nisan, since its correct position must have been *post festum*. He quotes also Jos. v. 11, where the first eating of the new fruits, which was subsequent to the offering of the wave-sheaf, is placed on the 16th of Nisan. Besides, it is *à priori* natural that when two days of rest, the first and seventh day, are mentioned, we should at once identify *הַשָּׁבֹת* with the first and most important day. Besides *מִקְרַת הַשָּׁבֹת* is taken of the 16th of Nisan in all the versions, in the Talmud, Josephus, and

¹ Lev. xxv. 8 sq.

² *Symbolik*, II. 621.

Philo, the latter writer informing us that this view of the expression was the basis of the Temple ritual in our Lord's days.

Still it may be thought that all these decisive data do not make Hitzig's case absolutely desperate. Hitzig himself thinks that a great mistake is made in bringing forward Philo and Josephus in support of the view that the Passover was not at that time connected with any fixed day of the week. Indeed he manages to avail himself of their decidedly different statements in support of his interpretation of *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*. He thinks that at a later period *מִן־חֹדֶשׁ הַשָּׁנָה* may have come to be falsely understood of the 15th Nisan, which thus became a weekly sabbath or Saturday, and, since according to Hitzig the 14th of Nisan fell always on a Saturday, was identified with the much controverted *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*. And then, to prove that at this time the 15th of Nisan fell regularly on a Saturday, and that according to the festal reckoning of the time, Pentecost fell on a Sunday, he adduces a thoroughly inconclusive passage from Josephus.¹

It is on these premisses that Hitzig's chronology of Passion week rests, which, after rejecting that of the Synoptists, he gives in the following words: "On the contrary, the correct arrangement of the days of Passion week, as given in John, is as follows: (12th Nisan). Our Lord's Last Supper. (13th). Friday, day of the *παρασκευή*. (14th). The weekly Sabbath. Passover Eve. (15th). *Σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*. (16th). The first day of the week. Day of the Resurrection." Hitzig's entire work may be looked upon as a clever but unsuccessful attempt to explain the difficult expression *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*, as well as to justify *à priori* the assumption that according to John the 13th of Nisan fell on a Friday. He must, however, have felt it an evil omen that to support his hypothesis he was obliged to assume that two Saturdays immediately succeeded one another. For one would naturally expect that if the 14th of Nisan were a Saturday, the 15th would have been the first, and the 16th the

¹ *Ant.* XIII. 8. 4.

second day of the week, and consequently the 50th day therefrom the second day also. In other words, if Pentecost fell on Sunday, only the 15th of Nisan, and not the 14th also, could fall on Saturday. But to support his view it is absolutely essential that this should have been a Saturday also.

Now though we have proved that the 15th of Nisan was never at any time, and least of all in the time of Christ, restricted to one particular day of the week, yet it is asserted that at that time it could never be a Friday. This is the second previous enquiry to which we must now turn. For if this is true generally, and therefore for the year of our Lord's death, the Synoptists are again wrong from the very beginning, in placing the crucifixion, as they appear to do, on Friday the 15th of Nisan. The most learned champion of this view is Ideler,¹ to whom chronology in general, and that of the Old Testament in particular, is so much indebted, who has been followed by later commentators. The only argument, however, which he brings forward in support of his view is that the modern Jewish calendar is so arranged that the 15th of Nisan can never be a Friday. On the other hand, he argues most learnedly² that this calendar, which he admits to have been repeatedly altered, did not receive its present permanent form till about the middle of the fourth century after Christ. What, then, can its statements on particular points, especially since each of these is most closely connected with the whole, prove for the time of Christ? Certainly, according to this calendar, the 15th of Nisan can never fall on a Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. And Ideler's view is probably this, that no one of these three days could in the time of Christ coincide with the 15th of Nisan: otherwise we should require a separate proof for the Friday, and more especially since, as we have seen, the Jewish festivals were merely connected with particular days of the month. Now we have already proved, p. 217, that in our Lord's days the 15th of Nisan might still fall on a Monday. That it could also fall on a Wednesday is plain from Acts xx. 6 sq. where we read

¹ *Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. 519.

² *Ibid*, p. 578.

that Paul journeying from Philippi after the feast of unleavened bread (22nd Nisan) occupied five days in reaching Troas, where he tarried seven days, and on the last day of his sojourn there, the 12th of his journey, a Sunday (*ἐν τῇ μίᾳ τῶν σαββ.*), "the disciples came together to break bread." It follows, therefore, that the first day of Paul's journey from Philippi, or the 22nd of Nisan, was a Wednesday, and consequently the 15th must have been a Wednesday too.¹

If, then, the modern Jewish calendar is at variance with the custom in our Lord's days in its statements with regard to the two other days Monday and Wednesday, we can scarcely see sufficient grounds for believing that only with regard to the third day mentioned, Friday, it was in accordance with it. But the fact is, we have express testimonies to the contrary. Among these, we reckon the first three Gospels, in which, as is almost universally admitted, the 15th of Nisan of the year of our Lord's crucifixion is made to coincide with a Friday. For we suppose that we are not to consider the Gospels, apart from the fact that they contain the life of our Lord, as utterly valueless as authorities for Jewish history. On the contrary, the Synoptists are the very writers against whom the objection is continually brought of too great a leaning to Judaizing ideas: so that we may conclude, that these writers, who were either native Jews, or the intimate associates of Jews, could not have been altogether unacquainted with the most familiar portions of the Jewish ritual. The question remains quite an independent one, whether the 15th of Nisan in the year of our Lord's death was a Friday or not. To these testimonies we are justly entitled to add the statements of the Mishna. In this, Tract *פסחים*, ch. 7, § 10,² it is enjoined that the bones, sinews, and whatever else remained of the Paschal lamb should be burnt on the 16th Nisan. But when this day was a sabbath, they were to be burnt on the 17th, because they were not to venture to break either the sabbath or the feast-day by this work. Now, if the 16th Nisan fell

¹ For fuller details, see *Excursus*.

² העצמות והגידין והחומר ישרפו בששה עשר חל ששה עשר להיות בשבת ישרפו בשבעה עשר לפי שאין דוחין לא את השבת ולא את יום טוב.

on a Saturday, the 15th must have been a Friday. In Tract חגיגה, ch. 2, § 4,¹ a passage which also contains one of the reasons why, at a later period, the festal calendar was so arranged that the 15th of Nisan no longer fell on a Friday, the disciples of Hillel lay down with regard to Pentecost, that if it fell on a sabbath, the killing of the sacrifice must be postponed till the next day; only on the latter day the high-priest was not to wear his festival garb (as a sign that it was no feast that was being celebrated), and mourning and fasting were permitted, to prevent any confirmation being given to the opinion of those (the Baithosæans) who said that Pentecost must always fall on the day after the sabbath. If Pentecost fell on a Saturday, the 15th of Nisan must have been a Friday. Once more, the tract בכורות, cap. 10,² discusses at considerable length what was to be done with the sheaf of the first-fruits if it had to be offered on a sabbath. Now since this was offered on the 16th of Nisan, it presupposes that at that time the 15th might fall on a Friday.

Since, then, what we have now to investigate is, whether the Evangelists who unanimously place our Lord's crucifixion on a Friday (which, as we have seen from what precedes, may certainly have been the 15th of Nisan) have placed it in the same, and that also a correct, relation to this particular day, we must in the first place enquire what the several Evangelists themselves say on this subject. And in pursuing our enquiry, we must base our investigation on the accounts given by the first three Evangelists, which not only by themselves, but also in the present state of Scriptural exegesis, are the least liable to misconception. Now these three Evangelists unanimously agree that in the course of the first day of unleavened bread³ Jesus went to Jerusalem to eat the Paschal Lamb.⁴ So that there can be no doubt⁵ that this was the 14th of

¹ ומדורים (Hillel's disciples) שאם חל להיות בשבת שיום מכות אחר שבת ואין כהן גדול מחלבש בכליו ומחרין בהספד וכתענית שלא לקים דברי האומרים עצרת אחר השבת.

² הקומר היה באכשכמ וגו'.

³ Mar. xiv. 12, Matt. xxvi. 17, τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἁζύμων, defined by Lu. xxii. 7, as ἡμέρα τ. ἁζύμων ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα, Mar. as ἡμέρα ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἐθυσεν.

⁴ Lu. xxii. 8, 11, 13.

⁵ Comp. our discussion of the chronological determination of the several days of the Paschal Feast, p. 335.

Nisan, on the afternoon of which the Paschal lamb was at that time killed between three and five o'clock: and consequently, that the supper which our Lord ate with the Twelve, *ὁψίας γενομένης*,¹ at which he instituted His Supper, must have been the Paschal Supper in its stricter sense.² But since our Lord was apprehended in the following night, and in the course of the next day was crucified and buried, it follows, that according to the Synoptists, the day on which He suffered and died was Friday the fifteenth of Nisan. This is the opinion of almost every commentator of the present day, so that it appears superfluous to cite authorities in support of it. In earlier times, however, with a view of proving a supposed harmony with the Gospel of John, writers were wont to avoid this conclusion in two ways, either by assuming that, even according to the Synoptists, our Lord celebrated an ordinary meal, or, since a Paschal Supper was too plainly indicated in the text, that either by his authority as Messiah, or by some legal authority or other, *e.g.* by a more correct calculation, He anticipated a day, so that not merely were the Synoptists able to call it a Paschal Supper, but John too, on the next day, could speak of the real Passover of the Jews as still to come. Absurdities like this, so at variance with the text,³ and

¹ Mar. xiv. 17, Matt. xvi. 20.

² Comp. Lu. xxii. 15.

³ In support of this supposed anticipation of the Passover the use of the word *ἔδει* (Lu. xxii. 7) has been appealed to, and has been interpreted either "a necessity was laid on Jesus (on account of His death, which followed the next day), for the Passover being killed by Him (as Messiah) at that time,"—the incorrectness of which is proved by the general reference of St. Luke's words,—or "on this day the Passover ought to have been killed (by the Jews), but was erroneously not killed by them, on which account our Lord, whether alone, or with a certain party among the Jews, was perfectly right in anticipating it." As if a separate Passover was killed by separate parties in the courts of the Temple! Besides, the *current day*, in the evening of which the Synoptists inform us the Supper was eaten, is already called *ἡμέρα τ. ἀζύμων* (Lu.) or *πρώτη τ. ἀζ.* (Matt., Mar.), so that it is impossible that the 13th of Nisan can be meant. And, finally, when Mark expressly adds (ch. xiv. 12) to his *πρώτ. ἡμ. τ. ἀζ.* the words *ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθουν*, "when they killed the Passover," who can imagine that he means to refer to the practice of a particular party? For a classification and refutation of the several erroneous views, see

evidencing so great an ignorance of chronological science, might now be fairly left for histories of exegesis. And it cannot but appear surprising that even Rinck, in his oft-quoted work,¹ should have recurred to this view.

But it is maintained that John's Gospel places the day of our Lord's crucifixion on the 14th of Nisan, since it was not till the evening of this day, that, according to him, the Passover was eaten, and consequently our Lord's Last Supper must have been an ordinary meal. We have therefore here a direct contradiction between John and the Synoptists: and this, too, one which must be admitted to possess considerable plausibility, since writers who would naturally be by no means disposed to favour it, have felt themselves forced to adopt it. And they have acted quite rightly if no sufficient arguments can be brought forward to refute it; since a mere assertion that there is no contradiction, while the contrary is quite apparent, cannot satisfy any independent enquirer. But what arguments do they adduce for their assertion? If we direct our attention simply to the direct statements in St. John's Gospel, they are substantially these: (1) The day of our Lord's death is described as παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα in Joh. xix. 14, i.e. the preparation for the Passover. (2) We read in Joh. xviii. 28, that the Jews refused to enter the judgment-hall at our Lord's trial, "lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover" (ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα). This expression it is believed must be interpreted of the eating the Paschal lamb, which was, therefore, still to take place on the evening of the 14th of Nisan.² The passages Joh. xiii. 2, where the δεῖπνον is at any rate not expressly asserted to have been the Paschal Supper, and xiii. 29, where the ἑσπρὴ is certainly spoken of as still future, have also been interpreted as having a subordinate, but still a real significance for our enquiry.

Now, supposing we acknowledge the discrepancy between the Synoptists and John as an exegetical fact, we must still go on to enquire whether the truth lies with either of

Carpzov., *Apparat. Critic.* p. 429; Winer, *R. W. B.* "Pascha;" Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, II. 408, etc.

¹ *Die Angefochtenen Erzählungen in dem Leben Jesu*, p. 113.

² Cf. Lu. xxii. 8, 11, 15, Mar. xiv. 12, 14, Matt. xxvi. 17.

them, and if so, with which. To this question three (if not four) replies may be given reflecting so many views with regard to the mutual connection of the four Gospels. (1) That of Strauss, that it is impossible to tell where the truth lies, and perhaps it is nowhere. The corresponding extreme would be the *categorical* decision that the truth is nowhere. (2) "John is right, and the Synoptists wrong," which is the view of the later positive criticism which, questioning the authenticity of the Synoptists, lays the greatest stress on the apostolic credibility of John. (3) "John is wrong, and the Synoptists right." And that is one of the most striking proofs that John is not to be placed above, but below, the Synoptists, and that he is not the Apostle. This is in reality a reaction against the excessive praise bestowed on John at the expense of the Synoptists, which, however, at present proceeds usually from a conscious or unconscious spirit of opposition to the Gospel history.

Of course those who have pronounced so decidedly in favour of one or other of these views of the mutual relations of the Gospels might be expected to adduce the grounds of their decision. Now, as of late days the decision has usually been given in favour of John, the greatest weight has been laid on the fact that inasmuch as he was not only an Apostle, but also "the beloved disciple" of his Master, he could not but have had the fullest knowledge of the facts. This is certainly a very striking argument as long as it is admitted that the Gospel was written by the Apostle John, but a very precarious one as soon as ever this began to be doubted.

It has been further alleged that other particulars of the day of our Lord's crucifixion, and the preceding day, render it very improbable that this could have taken place on the high feast-day of the 15th Nisan. On such a day the Jewish ritual would hardly have allowed a judicial trial, still less an execution to take place. In considering this objection it must be borne in mind, what is generally quite overlooked, that both the law and tradition of the Jews assigned to every weekly sabbath a far higher degree of sabbatical rest than even to the highest feast-day, unless it coincided with a sabbath: and also that after the

destruction of the temple, when the stricter school of Shammai got more and more the ascendancy over that of Hillel, the ordinances with regard to the sabbath, as well as the feast-days, were made considerably more stringent; so that it is always necessary to subject them to a critical examination to see whether they also suit the days of our Lord. We know, however, that a trial of Jews by Jews was not unfrequently held on a sabbath. Instances are given of a larger room being chosen for the court of judgment, on account of the large concourse of people on that day.¹ We read, also, not unfrequently in the New Testament of official and judicial business being carried on, and of people coming together for the purpose of putting another to death,² on a sabbath, and still more on a feast-day.³ To prove that no trials were permitted on the sabbath and on feast-days the Tract ביצה, cap. 5,⁴ is adduced. "The following discretionary business is not permitted on the sabbath. No trials are held, espousals made, etc." Here, as is plain from what follows, the stricter view has come in: but even in this passage, drawn from traditions of a later date, every kind of trial is not excluded. The only question was, whether it was to be looked upon as discretionary or not. Even in later times, when this theory⁵ continually gained greater ascendancy, practical requirements, as in the case of very odious criminals whose speedy death was desirable, rendered frequent executions necessary. Besides, we are sure from astronomical calculations based on the eclipse of the moon which occurred the night afterwards, that it was on the 12th of March, 750 A.U.C., that Herod the Great caused

¹ Tholuck, *Comment. on John xiii.* 1 (Clark's Ed. p. 316).

² Lu. iv. 16, 29; Matt. xxvii. 62—66; Joh. vii. 30, 32, viii. 59, ix. 13—35.

³ Joh. vii. 44—52, x. 31, 39; Mar. iii. 6.

⁴ ואלו הן משום רשות לא דנין ולא מקדשין וגו'.

⁵ We find a further development of the theory (cf. Tract מנהרין, cap. 4) in the fact that the Gemara forbade every "judicium capitale" on a Friday ערב שבת, and festival eve יום טוב, and even a "judicium pecuniarium," according to some on a Friday. If then we date this theory back as far as the days of Christ, who was certainly executed on a Friday, and at any rate on a festival eve, it would follow that He would not have been brought before the Sanhedrim at all.

Mathias (Theudas) and several of his party to be burnt alive. Now, since that year the 15th of Nisan fell on the full moon of the 12th of April, the 12th of March must have coincided with the 13th of Adar, on the Feast of Purim. If, then, we assume that no sentence of death can have been passed or carried out on a feast-day, we shall be compelled in consistency to maintain with Block,¹ in complete contradiction to all history, that the death of Herod did not take place at the time of the Passover, 750 A.U.C. Nay more, it may be proved that the festival season, and indeed the most frequented festivals, were specially chosen for the punishment of notorious criminals, that it might serve as a warning to the crowds then assembled. Of this we have an example in the execution of Theudas and his accomplices on the Feast of Purim. Besides, it is said, Tract סנהדרין,² ch. 11, § 4, "Such an one (who says anything against the Scribes) is not to be put to death either by the court in his own town, or by that at Jabne, but he is brought up to Jerusalem, and kept till the feast, רגל, and put to death then, because it is written,"³ 'And all the people shall hear and fear and do no more presumptuously.' So saith Rabbi Akiba" (who lived in Adrian's time). Our Lord was certainly included in the class of those who attacked the words of the Scribes. By "the feast," רגל, we must understand one of the three great festivals for which all pious Israelites were bound to visit Jerusalem, viz. the Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles. Now, if in accordance with the injunction *all* the people were to hear and fear, in the case of so great an offender the day when the people gathered together to keep the feast would be selected, i.e. in the Feast of Passover, the 15th of Nisan. For at the close of this day many of those who had come up to the feast were wont to

¹ See his work, *Das Wahre Geburtsjahr Christi*, noticed above, p. 126. The coincidence of this execution with a festival is the main reason for his placing Herod's death, not in April, 750 A.U.C., but in *October*, 739 A.U.C.

² אין ממהין אותו לא בבית דין שבעירו ולא בבית דין שיבנה אלא מעלין אותו עד דרגל וממהין אותו ברגל שנאמר וכל העם ישמעו ויראו ולא יירדו עוד דבר ר' עקיבא.

³ Deut. xvii. 13.

leave Jerusalem, which they were permitted to do by the term of the law.¹ Again, Herod Agrippa, after having executed James the son of Zebedee, was minded to have brought out the Apostle Peter for death on the 15th of Nisan. He put him in prison² in "the days of unleavened bread," i.e. according to the usage of Luke and the other Synoptists,³ between the morning of the 14th and the evening of the 21st of Nisan, and, since it was before the Passover,⁴ during the 14th, on the evening of which day the Passover was eaten. He intended "to bring him forth to the people after Easter," *μετὰ τὸ πάσχα* (an expression which evidently points out a special feast *within* the *ἡμέραι τ. ἀζύμων* mentioned just before), i.e. since *τὸ πάσχα*, as a definition of a particular feast-day in its strictest sense, was employed as well of the 14th of Nisan (from evening to midnight) as of the 15th, including the preceding evening, either on the 15th or 16th of Nisan. Both of these days were celebrated as high festivals during the season of unleavened bread,⁵ so that at any rate the possibility of a criminal court on a feast-day is established. However, when we consider the *usus loquendi* of Luke and the other Synoptists we must come to the conclusion that the 15th is specified as the day of trial. For in them⁶ *τὸ πάσχα* always stands in its strictest sense for the evening of the 14th of Nisan,⁷ which alone is consistent with their mode of regarding the whole festival season as "days of unleavened bread;" for then the feast of unleavened bread on the 15th of Nisan must have been specially mentioned in contradistinction to the Passover on the preceding evening, as is actually done in Mark xiv. 1. But when on the other hand, as is the case through the whole of John's Gospel, the entire period from its commencement is called

¹ Deut. xvi. 7.² Acts xii. 3.³ e.g. Lu. xxii. 7, paral.⁴ Acts xii. 4.⁵ See p. 335.⁶ Lu. ii. 41 is the only exception, where *ἑορτὴ τ. πάσχα* appears from *τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας* (in the plural) in v. 43, to comprise more days than one. However, an objection to our interpretation of Acts xii. 4 can scarcely be founded on this particular passage, since the view of the festival period, as *ἡμέρ. τ. ἀζύμων*, which we find Lu. xxii. 7, immediately precedes it.⁷ Lu. xxii. 1, Matt. xvi. 2, of. Lu. xxii. 7 sq., paral.

τὸ πάσχα,¹ this expression when used to designate a particular feast² can only be interpreted of the 15th of Nisan, including the preceding evening. From this it follows that the night of Peter's escape from prison was that between the 14th and 15th of Nisan: which affords a very simple explanation for the fact that in the middle of that night he found many people gathered together praying in Mary's house: for it was enjoined that on that night there should be a *pernoctatio*.³ To conclude, it is recorded by Hegesippus,⁴ that James the Lord's brother suffered martyrdom before the assembled people on the 15th of Nisan, or, as he says, ἡμέρα (in the singular) τοῦ πάσχα. Now, whether the date here given is correct or not, it at any rate proves that the Jewish Christians, on whose writings it is based, found no difficulty in the idea that a person might suffer martyrdom at the hands of the Jews on the feast of the 15th of Nisan.

As the result of this investigation it may be considered perfectly clear that, since we have the choice between the 14th and 15th of Nisan for our Lord's death, the regulations we have shewn the Jews adopted with regard to trials, do not, to say the least, contradict the view that it took place on the latter day. Indeed, as is expressly affirmed Joh. xviii. 28, the Jews did not enter the heathen judgment-hall (*prætorium*), that they might not be defiled, and before the commencement of the celebration of the feast in the temple, *i.e.* before the morning sacrifice, about nine o'clock, which was followed by the offering of the Chagigah, our Lord's trial was ended.⁵ The actual crucifixion, on the other hand, was carried out by the Romans.

Again, it is alleged as an objection to the view that our Lord was crucified on the 15th of Nisan, that no one was permitted to leave the place where the Paschal Supper was

¹ See p. 331.

² My opinion is that ἐν τῷ πάσχα, Joh. xviii. 39, must be understood of a particular feast-day, *i.e.* of the 15th of Nisan. The release of the criminal before the assembled people corresponds to his condemnation before them.

³ See Lightfoot on Mar. xiv. 26.

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* II. 23.

⁵ Mar. xv. 25

celebrated before the morning,¹ while our Lord left the house with His disciples for Gethsemane during the night, and the officers also hurried thither with the traitor, Judas Iscariot, in order to apprehend Him. Those, however, who have made this objection have not attended to the distinction between the "*Pascha Ægyptiacum*" and the "*Pascha sequentium ætatum*." In the passage of Exodus referred to above the festival is described as it was celebrated in Egypt, which was peculiar in many respects. The prohibition to leave the house where the Passover had been eaten was connected with the fact that without the Angel of Death was passing by to slay the first-born. To guard themselves from destruction the posts of the house in which they sojourned were also to be sprinkled with the blood of the Paschal lamb. As, then, these two features were necessarily wanting in the later celebration of the Paschal rite, it is natural enough to expect that the injunction to tarry within the house in which they had assembled for the Paschal Supper, which is only to be explained by a reference to them, should be omitted also. And that which naturally follows from the difference between the two Passovers is expressly stated in the Talmud.²

A further difficulty is found in the purchase of provisions in the night before the 15th of Nisan, the possibility of which is contemplated, Joh. xiii. 29, but which the rules of the feast prohibited, or at any rate regarded as unbecoming. In reply to this we have only to adduce what is laid down in the law itself with regard to the hallowing of the 15th of Nisan.³ But if the preparation of food was even expressly sanctioned by the law on that day, how much more "those things there was need of for the feast" when the crowds who came up to it were so great?

¹ Ex. xii. 22.

² The following passage from *Tosapht in Pesach* 8, has been quoted by Lightfoot, *Minister. templi*, p. 727: "In potestate Ægyptiacæ dicitur—Nemo vestrum limine ædium suarum exibat ad matutinum tempus—sed sic non fuit in sequentibus generationibus. Ubi comedebant pascha in Ægypto, ibi etiam pernoctare debuerunt, sed posterioribus temporibus comedebant in uno loco et pernoctabant in alio."

³ Ex. xii. 16. See p. 334, and Tract ביצה, c. 5.

Besides, we read¹ that the women returning from the tomb on the same day, which according to this Evangelist is certainly the 15th of Nisan, a little before the beginning of the sabbath,² purchased "spices and ointments." This last passage, however, perhaps belongs to a new class of objections, to which we now pass.

In conclusion, it is maintained³ that the Synoptists themselves⁴ prove that our Lord's Last Supper was not a Paschal Supper, and consequently that the day of His death was not the 15th of Nisan. They tell us that two days before, the Sanhedrim had decided not to apprehend and kill our Lord "on the feast-day," ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, "lest there should be an uproar of the people."⁵ But it is pretty plain from the object of this decision, the use of the words σὺν δόλῳ and the parallel passage, Lu. xxii. 2, that the words ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ do not signify the feast-day, but the place where the festival was celebrated,⁶ just as we say, "Have you been to the fair?"⁷ But even if we admit the other interpretation, we can see no good reason why the Sanhedrim may not have changed their plan. The fact is that the original plan was prompted not by any feeling of indulgence towards our Lord, but through fear of the people. And when, by an unexpected piece of good luck, the treachery of Judas, which was not presented to their notice till later, relieved them from this apprehension by delivering our Lord into the power of the Sanhedrim without any disturbance, it became an object of the first importance to hurry forward their plan for His prosecution and death as rapidly as possible.

I trust I have shewn that of the various arguments adduced in favour of the correctness of the fourth Gospel, which take for granted a chronological contradiction in the

¹ Lu. xxiii. 56.

² In Mar. xvi. 1, we find spices purchased at the end of the sabbath, i.e. on the evening of the 16th of Nisan.

³ We have already considered the objection that in our Lord's days the 15th of Nisan could never fall on a Friday (see *supra*, p. 342), an objection which, if well founded, would certainly be decisive.

⁴ Theile, *Neues Krit. Journ.* II. 165 sq.

⁵ Matt. xxvi. 2—5, Mar. xiv. 1, 2.

⁶ This was not Gethsemane. The celebration of the feast had already begun the preceding night.

⁷ Cf. Joh. vii. 11.

history of the Passion, the only one of any weight is that which rests on its authority as the work of the Apostle John. And how precarious is this if there be any reason for questioning its authorship! And if no other convincing argument can be brought forward, may we not set against *one* Evangelist, *three* Gospels recognized by the Church, written at the same if not an earlier period, and yet which can scarcely be said to represent one single original? It is clear from this alone, setting aside every other reason, that the critical decision must incline towards the Synoptists.

We have yet to mention a leading argument brought forward by the opponents of the authenticity of St. John's Gospel, Bretschneider,¹ Strauss, and Schwegeler,² and which, if we once admit this want of harmony between the four Gospels, can hardly, I think, be met. The arguments on which it rests have therefore usually received particular attention from the defenders of the Gospel harmony.³ About the middle and towards the end of the second century, the so-called Paschal controversy⁴ between the Christians of Asia Minor and those of the West, which rested on a diversity of very long standing in the date of the celebration of the Christian Passover, attracted attention. It related partly to the duration of Lent, partly, which is the only point with which we are now concerned, to the day on which Easter was to be observed.⁵

¹ *Probabil.* pp. 109, 110.

² *Montanism, and the Christian Church of the Second Century*, 1841, p. 191 sq. The history of the Paschal controversies, on the one side, and the assumed discrepancy of the four Evangelists, with regard to the day of our Lord's death, on the other side, have been so completely taken by Schwegeler as the basis of his critical investigation of the writings of St. John, that when once the erroneousness of these premisses has been proved, the greater part of the conclusions arrived at—one of which is that St. John's Gospel was composed about 170 A.D.—must be at once given up.

³ A most complete defence of the harmony of the Gospels with reference to the day of Christ's death, has been given by Hengstenberg, *Evang. Kirchenzeit.* 1838, No. 98—102.

⁴ See the Church histories of Gieseler and Neander, and Rettberg's treatise on the Paschal Controversy, *Illgens Zeitschr. f. histor. Theol.* 1832, Vol. II. pp. 2, 91.

⁵ Irenæus ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24: οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας.

The Christians of Asia Minor agreed with the Jews in placing the commencement of their feast on the fourteenth day after the new moon (about the time of the vernal equinox), so that the Feast of the Resurrection did not necessarily fall on a Sunday, since the 14th was not necessarily a Thursday. The Western Church, on the other hand, though making their celebrations depend on the 14th of the moon, made them fall regularly on fixed days of the week, commemorating the Resurrection on a Sunday, the Crucifixion on a Friday. Before this, as we learn from Irenæus,¹ Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, a disciple of the Apostle John, had had a controversy on this subject with Anicetus, Bishop of Rome. The dispute came to no issue, both parties having ancient tradition to appeal to, while Polycarp could adduce the authority of the Apostle John, and the other Apostles with whom he had associated.² The two bishops however parted in the most friendly spirit. Still later, about 171 A.D., the controversy broke out afresh at Laodicea.³ At this time writings were interchanged. Melito, Bishop of Sardis, wrote two books on the side of the Asiatics, which unhappily have not reached us. In opposition to him, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and still later Clement of Alexandria, entered the lists, of whose writings we have only some fragments remaining.⁴ From these it is clear that the question in dispute was debated on exegetical grounds. The opponents of the Asiatic usage, hard pressed by the passages of Holy Scripture brought against them by their adversaries, endeavoured to prove that, according to the Gospels, our Lord in fact did not eat a Paschal Supper with His disciples before He suffered; and that they therefore could not be bound to observe it. To prove this they were obliged to shew that our Lord was crucified on the 14th

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14.

² Euseb. *u. s.*: Οὐτὲ γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον κείσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν (σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην) ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων, οἷς συνδιέτρεψεν ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισε τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνθηκὴν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν. This is given on the authority of Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26.

⁴ See Rettberg, *u. s.*

of Nisan, and before the commencement of the Passover. And from this arose their misunderstanding of the Gospels, which afterwards became traditional. Their opponents appealed to the first three Evangelists, or since these at any rate agree with one another, to the first of them, Matthew, as the one who expressed their view the most clearly. On the other side the Gospel of St. John was appealed to, with whom, as far as possible, the Synoptists were brought into harmony. On this subject we derive much information from a fragment¹ of the work of Apollinaris, in which he brings the following charge against the Asiatics. Λέγουσιν ὅτι τῇ ἰδ' τὸ πρόβατον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφαγεν ὁ Κύριος, τῇ δὲ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων (15th Nisan) αὐτὸς ἔπαθεν, καὶ διηγοῦνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν, ὡς νενοήκασιν ὅθεν ἀσύμφωνός τε νόμῳ ἢ νόσιν αὐτῶν καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια. Two arguments are here brought forward against our Lord's death having taken place on the 15th of Nisan.² (1) "It does not agree with the Mosaic law." An objection based on the same idea which lay at the bottom of the Western mode of observing the feast, viz. that Christ was slain in the place of the Paschal lamb, which the law commanded should be offered on the 14th of Nisan. (2) "It seems (δοκεῖ) to follow from this view that the Gospels are at variance with one another, i.e. the Gospel of St. John with the Synoptists."³ It deserves remark that Apollinaris lays almost the whole weight on his typical argument, and introduces his exegesis of the Gospels with a timid δοκεῖ. To support this view it was at that time universally assumed by the Western Church that our Lord's Last Supper was not a Passover but an ordinary meal on the 13th of Nisan, with

¹ *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Du Fresne, p. 6.

² This idea is shortly afterwards expressed by Apollinaris himself: 'Ἡ ἰδ' τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου πάσχα, ἡ θυσία μεγάλη, ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμνοῦ Παῖς Θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

³ It is strange that Schwegeler should argue from these words of Apollinaris that he was unacquainted with St. John's Gospel, while, on the contrary, they clearly demonstrate that he was acquainted with it. For how could the Synoptists, by themselves, be at variance with one another on the point of question? His remarks, too, on the meaning of στασιάζειν, in support of his view, evidence no very deep philological knowledge.

special reference to the Passover of His death on the 14th,¹ a mode of interpretation which we have already classified among the harmonistic attempts.²

Towards the close of the second century the controversy raged still more vehemently, when Victor was Bishop of Rome. It was shewn that the whole Christian Church agreed with the Romans in their celebration of Easter, with the single exception of those of Asia Minor.³ Great weight was also at that time laid on the fact that the scholars of Alexandria, the ablest calculators and the masters of the science of their day, supported the side of the Western Church.⁴ At the head of the Asiatics was Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, who had grown grey in his Lord's service. Eusebius⁵ has preserved some fragments of a synodal Epistle written by him at the commission of his brother bishops to Victor of Rome. After having indirectly at least reproached his opponents with altering the original institution of our Lord, while *they* neither added anything to it, nor diminished anything from it, he adduces in favour of the Asiatic custom observed by him, the authority of the Apostles Philip and John, of Polycarp, Thraseas, Sagaris, Papius, and Melito, and of seven of his kinsmen who had been bishops before him.

¹ Hippolytus, in a fragment, *Chronicon Paschale*, l. c. λέγει (the champion of the Asiatic custom) οὕτως ἐποίησε τὸ πάσχα ὁ Χριστὸς τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔπαθε, διὸ καὶ δεῖ ὃν τρόπον ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησεν οὕτω ποιεῖν· πεπλάνηται δὲ μὴ γινώσκων ὅτι ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἔπασχεν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἔφαγεν τὸ κατὰ νομὸν πάσχα. Οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τὸ προκεκηρυγμένον καὶ τελειούμενον τῇ ὁρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ (14th Nisan). So too Clemens Alex.: τοῖς μὲν οὖν παρελλυθόσιν ἔτεσιν τὸ θυόμενον πρὸς Ἰουδαίων ἥσθιν ἐορτάζων ὁ Κύριος πάσχα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκήρυξεν αὐτὸς ὡς τὸ πάσχα ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἀγόμενος, αὐτίκα ἐδίδαξε μὲν τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ τόπου τὸ μυστήριον τῇ γ' κ.τ.λ. Clement, we see, supposes that our Lord's object was by means of the Supper on the 13th to instruct His disciples as to the true symbolical import of the Passover of the O. T., which He was about really to fulfil on the 14th. The analysis of the Easter tables of the early Christians at once plunges us into the midst of the Paschal controversies. Hippolytus' period of 112 years, carried back to A.D. 29, the year assumed by the Latin Church for our Lord's death, does not allow the *day* of His crucifixion (Friday) to fall earlier than the fourteenth of the moon (25th of March). The Latin Easter cycle of 84 years does the same. See Ideler, *Hdbch.* i. 421.

² See p. 345.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 25.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.* v. 24.

Still further the Asiatic Bishop appeals in favour of the custom of his Church, not only to tradition, but also to the *Gospel*,¹ and asserts that he had examined every part of Scripture (πᾶσαν ἀγίαν γραφὴν διεληλυθώς) with this object. He bases his view, however, not merely on the first three Gospels, excluding the fourth, but on "the Gospel" simply; not on one single Gospel, as the fourth, but on every part of Scripture; these last words having an indisputable reference to his opponents, in so far as they justified their view, and that only apparently, from the Gospel of St. John alone. Fully convinced that the custom he defends is in perfect accordance with Scripture, he concludes with the words, "we must obey God rather than men." The Bishop of Rome, with whom the external unity of the Church was everything, wished to excommunicate the Asiatics: a step which was prevented by the protest of the other bishops, and especially by the authority of Irenæus. The Western custom received Œcumenical authority at the Council of Nice, and thenceforward the Quartodecimani were regarded as heretics.

It will follow from this statement that the Asiatic Church, from the very commencement, regarded their mode of celebrating the festival as in unison not with the first three Evangelists only, but also with John. This traditional interpretation of St. John's Gospel on the part of the Asiatic Church is all the more deserving of attention on exegetical grounds, since its existence can be traced back to the very earliest times in the very district in which the Apostle lived and worked. We utterly deny that the double mode of observing Easter had its origin in any discrepancy in the tradition, or even in the narrative of our Lord's death as given by the Evangelists. The diversity admits of a very simple explanation. The Asiatic usage may be traced to the view taken by them of Easter as a real Passover, though one penetrated with a peculiar Christian spirit, and its connection by them, as among the Jews, with a fixed day of the *month*, arising from the fact that the events on which it was based

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24: οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαideκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

coincided in the first instance with an actual Jewish Passover. The Western usage, maintaining only a general agreement with the date of the Jewish Passover, connected Easter with fixed days of the *week*, viz. those on which the fundamental facts of redemption, our Lord's Death and Resurrection, occurred; which may probably be connected with the custom that had so long prevailed of celebrating our Lord's resurrection on the first day of the week, or Sunday. The Asiatic usage might the more readily be looked upon as an immediate continuation of the Jewish Passover, since it was on this that the charge of Judaizing, so usually brought against them, was founded. This being the case, it follows, as the history of the controversy proves, that in proportion as the form of the Jewish Passover fell into the background, the peculiar ideal of the Christian consciousness, the thought that Christ was the true and ever-efficacious Passover, came into prominence.¹ The Asiatic usage being thus immediately connected with an historic fact, its adversaries have gone wrong in seeking to prove that it was to be rejected and the correctness of their own acknowledged, merely on exegetic grounds.

If on the other hand we assume that the supposed discrepancy between the Synoptists and John is to be admitted, and that consequently the ancient exegetical tradition which maintains their harmony is devoid of truth, the history of these Paschal controversies must certainly even menace the authenticity of the Gospel of St. John. For it does not admit a question that the Asiatic usage is only to be explained on the hypothesis that our Lord partook of the Paschal Supper together with the Jews on the 14th of Nisan, and was crucified on the 15th. Now, if not only the rest of the Apostles and other ancient witnesses but also the Apostle John joined in observing and allowing this usage, how can he have written the fourth Gospel, which it is held proves the very basis of that usage to be erroneous? Even supposing that he found it existing on his arrival in Asia he must have altered what was erroneous in it, which as an Apostle

¹ Joh. xix. 36, 1 Cor. v. 7.

and an eye-witness of our Lord's life he certainly had the power of doing.

But putting this on one side, we shall now go on to enquire how the case may have been with regard to this usage, if John found it already existing on his arrival in Asia. The mode of celebrating Easter before John's arrival can hardly have been established by any but the Apostle Paul and his fellow-labourers, by whom the congregations of Asia Minor were founded. But among these fellow-labourers were two of the Evangelists, Mark and Luke, by whom the institution of the Lord's Supper is certainly represented as coincident with the celebration of the Jewish Passover. Now, since we must, even apart from other reasons, consider it probable that they agreed with their great teacher on this important point, it seems certain that there is a discrepancy between John and the Synoptists with regard to the day of our Lord's death; and that Paul gives his apostolical decision in favour of the latter. Lücke indeed endeavours to bring forward the Apostle Paul as a witness in favour of John against the Synoptists.¹ In proof of this he alleges that our crucified Lord is styled our Paschal Lamb.² But could not this have been unless He was offered on the very same day and hour as the real Paschal lamb? This name could surely have been given to Him even if the dates were still farther apart. There is another passage in the same Epistle to the Corinthians,³ which, if not decisive, at any rate bears strong evidence in favour of the Synoptists. St. Paul there calls the cup in the Lord's Supper "the cup of blessing" (*τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας*), the reason undoubtedly being, as the commentators remark, that the cup at the Paschal Supper bore the same name. Whence this name? May we gather from the context that it merely stands in the same relation to the Paschal cup, as is evidently the case with *τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν*, 1 Cor. v. 7? I should be the more ready to admit this were it not for the addition of *ὁ εὐλογοῦμεν*. Now, if this clause is not entirely superfluous, *τὸ ποτήριον τ. εὐλογ.* must be regarded

¹ *Comment.* i. p. 113; *Gött. gelehrte Anz.* 1834, p. 20 sq.

² 1 Cor. v. 7, Joh. xix. 36.

³ 1 Cor. x. 16.

as St. Paul's technical expression for the cup of the Lord's Supper, so that it bore this name irrespective of its being blessed or not in the ritual of that age. It follows, therefore, that it must have been identified with the Passover cup, either from its original institution, the term used by St. Paul being selected with this reference, or from its having been a long-established custom, which on account of the analogy in the Asiatic churches is perhaps preferable. If the Christian cup of blessing were placed in contradistinction to that of the Jews, we must have found *ἡμεῖς* before *εὐλογοῦμεν*—"the cup of blessing which *we*—in contradistinction to the Jews—bless." And accordingly in 1 Cor. v. 7 we find *τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν*. Now, if we take into consideration the relation borne by the two Synoptists Mark and Luke to the Apostle Paul above adverted to, as well as that Luke's Gospel is to a considerable extent of a Pauline character, and especially the close resemblance between the words of institution of the Lord's Supper as given by Luke¹ and Paul,² which is also recognized elsewhere, we must certainly maintain that in the Paschal controversy the Apostle Paul is decidedly to be ranked on the side of the Synoptists. And we then have credible grounds for asserting that the author of the fourth Gospel, through the whole of his narrative of our Lord's last days, is in direct opposition to several Apostles, and especially to the Apostle John. He can therefore have hardly been an Apostle at all, still less the Apostle John.

I go further. If we first take away all apostolical authority from the fourth Gospel and give it to the Synoptists, it is self-evident that the truth is with them. We may add another argument which might of itself be conclusive. Throughout the whole of our work we have been endeavouring to prove that our Lord was crucified 30 A.D. Now in this year, the 15th of Nisan = April 12, fell on a Friday. Since, then, all the four Gospels agree that our Lord's death occurred in the closest proximity to the Passover, and on a Friday, it follows that He suffered on the 15th Nisan, and that the Last Supper which He ate with His disciples the evening before, must have been a

¹ Lu. xxii. 19—21.² 1 Cor. xi. 23—25.

Paschal Supper. The synoptical account is, therefore, in any case, true.

But is it *alone* true? What then becomes of the fourth Gospel? Shall we say that this book, which may be demonstrated to be apostolical, by so many internal and external proofs, did really not proceed from the Apostle John? I certainly think it did. If so, we are at once led to infer that the ground, which it appears to me is the only incontrovertible basis for such a conclusion, viz. the discrepancy between the narrative of St. John and the Synoptists, may be only apparent. Besides, a discrepancy appears to me *à priori* inconceivable, and that on this account. We have been examining the whole of the four Gospels with reference to their chronology, and have nearly reached the end of our work. We have found their authors, and specially the author of the fourth Gospel, possessed of the fullest information. Can we then suppose that a discrepancy exists just in the most important section of our Lord's history, that of the Passion; which, as is well known, was the first and chief subject of the narratives and sermons of the early Christians; and that too, in the midst of apostles and apostolic men, at the very time of the composition of the Gospels, when it was impossible that it should take root, especially as the institution and celebration of the Lord's Supper kept up in the Church a continual observance of that all-important Paschal Supper?¹ We shall have, therefore, now to undertake a careful investigation of the passage containing the supposed contradiction, viz. St. John's narrative of the Passion, and that by itself, without consulting the harmonies, either friendly or hostile, and with reference to the entire context, our object being to determine whether this discrepancy, which our preceding remarks shew to be all but impossible *à priori*, really exists or not. We should, however, have at once to admit it, if it could be proved that John does not place the day of our Lord's death on the 15th Nisan. If this were so (to mention this by the way), and if we should have to decide in favour of John, it would certainly seem to be a necessary consequence

¹ Tholuck, *Comment. on St. John*, p. 305.

that we should have to adopt a somewhat modified view of the import of the Lord's Supper. And yet it has been maintained by several recent writers, in the manner we have here attempted, and which, as we have shewn above,¹ is the only allowable one, that there is no discrepancy between the four Gospels. I allude to the authors quoted,² to whom Paulus and Guerike are to be added.³

We now proceed to subject to a closer scrutiny the following passages: Joh. xii. 1, xiii. 1, 2, 29, xviii. 28—39, xix. 14, 31.

The first passage, Joh. xii. 1, pretty decidedly favours the idea that John considered the 15th of Nisan as the day of our Lord's death. There we read: "Jesus came to Bethany πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα." This can only mean "six days before the Passover." The commencement of the Passover fell on the evening of the 14th of Nisan. Our Lord came therefore to Bethany on the 8th of Nisan. Now, if we suppose that John agreed with the Synoptists in making the Friday, on which he also tells us our Lord was crucified, the 15th of Nisan, it will follow that the 8th of Nisan was a Friday, on which day, before the commencement of the rest of the sabbath, our Lord entered Bethany. But if, on the other hand, we follow the opponents of the synoptical view, and make the day after the crucifixion the 15th of Nisan, that would be a Saturday; and consequently the 8th, on which Jesus reached Bethany, also a Saturday. This theory would oblige us to suppose that our Lord either transgressed the Mosaic law, which ordained that the seventh day of the week should be held as a sabbath, or a day of rest, and in particular strictly forbade travelling on that day, or that He passed the sabbath in the neighbourhood of Bethany, with the view of completing the remainder of His journey in the evening. Both of these suppositions, even apart from the fact that, as we shall subsequently see, they do not agree with the chronology of Passion week, may at once, as a preliminary step, be stamped as impossible. Our Lord, so far as His life is

¹ See p. 347.

² See p. 325.

³ See Paulus' well-known works on the Gospel and the Gospel history, and Guerike, *Versuch einer Vereinigung der Evangelischen Relationen über die letzte Mahlzeit Jesu*, Neu. Krit. Journ. III. p. 157.

made known to us, never was guilty of any such breach of the sabbath as this. It is evident that this cannot be placed in the same category as the acts of healing on the sabbath day: and we might well feel surprise if our Lord had committed this violation of the Law, which would have subjected Him to the punishment of death,¹ and that His enemies who were lying in wait for Him in every place,² anxiously seeking for colourable pretexts to satisfy their revenge, neglected to charge Him with it on His trial. On the other hand, the view that our Lord would have arranged His journey so as just to arrive at its goal, Bethany, before the sabbath began, seems *à priori* to commend itself. The house of Lazarus in that village, was indeed our Lord's head-quarters during Passion week, from which He went to Jerusalem, and to which He returned.³

We now come to the second passage, Joh. xiii. 1, 2. It is granted⁴ that the Last Supper here recorded is identical with the Paschal Supper of the Synoptists. The only question is, whether the notes of time in John indicate the Paschal Supper on the evening of the 14th, or an ordinary meal on that of the 13th of Nisan. This entirely depends on the meaning and construction of Joh. xiii. 1. The first step in our investigation must be to refute the erroneous view that *πρὸ* can express the day immediately preceding the feast of the Passover. This both in classical Greek, and also in the New Testament, must have been expressed by *πρὸ μῆς τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα* = "One day before the Passover."⁵ On the contrary, the words can mean nothing but (as *πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα*, Joh. xi. 55), that *something* happened *before* the Passover. They do not contain a syllable to indicate how long before: whether hours, days, or years, can only be determined by the context.⁶ A further question arises, whether *πρὸ τῆς*

¹ Ex. xvi. 29, xxxi. 14, xxxv. 2, Numb. xv. 32.

² Joh. xi. 57.

³ Joh. xii. 1—9, cf. xi. 1—46, and Lu. x. 38—42; Mar. xi. 11, 12, Matt. xxi. 17, cf. Mar. xi. 19; Lu. xxi. 37, Mar. xiv. 3—9, cf. Matt. xxvi. 6—13.

⁴ Strauss, II. p. 404.

⁵ Cf. 2 Macc. xv. 36.

⁶ It is singular that Olshausen, *Comment.* iv. 132 (Clark's transl.), at

ἐορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα is to be regarded as fixing the date of the δεῖπνον, v. 2. This question is all-important. For if it be answered in the affirmative, the supper mentioned by John cannot have been a Paschal Supper but must be placed *before* the Passover.¹ The construction which would connect v. 2, by καί with the principal clause of v. 1, εἰς τέλος ἠγάπησεν αὐτούς, allows the possibility of this reference, but only under one condition, viz. if πρὸ τῆς ἐορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα either did not refer at all, or not exclusively to the participial clause εἰδώς or ἀγαπήσας, but to the principal clause. This, however, is not the case. It is evident that these words point to εἰς τέλος; "having loved His own *before the feast* of the Passover," finds its correlative in "He loved them unto the end." It is impossible to understand these two notes of time in other than this antithetical relation. Consequently, the former refers entirely to the participial clause formed by ἀγαπήσας, which is still more closely defined by the clause with εἰδώς:² the meaning being, that our Lord's "love to the end," *includes* the whole of His love *before* the Passover, which began with the time contrasted with the time *before the feast*, i.e. *the commencement of the feast*. After these preliminary remarks, the passage appears to me perfectly clear, and I would translate it as follows, "Jesus, having loved His own, which were to remain in the world, *before the Feast of the*

once has recourse to the different modes of calculating the civil day among the Jews and Greeks to explain πρὸ τῆς ἐορτ. τ. πάσχ. The festival on the evening of the 14th of Nisan was called Pascha both by Jews and Greeks, and it was from the evening forwards that it had that name.

¹ I cannot but deem Hengstenberg's view (*Evangel. Kircheng.* 1838, p. 787) erroneous, who regards the word δεῖπνον, Joh. xiii. 2, as signifying the Paschal Supper, but seeks to defend the chronological character of πρὸ τῆς ἐορτῆς τ. πάσχα by assuming that it fixes the time of our Lord's washing His disciples' feet *before* the Paschal Supper. Was it, then, before the Paschal *feast*? and is it not described, v. 4, as an *integral* part of that feast?

² The clause εἰδώς, κ.τ.λ., which indeed is equivalent for our enquiry, limits πρὸ τ. ἐορτῆς τ. πάσχα to the last days before the Passover. It is only with reference to these that the language could be used ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ: otherwise, instead of the perfect, we must have had the future ἐλεύσεται. On the other hand, Olshausen and others refer the words πρὸ τ. ἐορτ. to the *whole* of our Lord's life before His last Passover.

Passover,¹ knowing that His hour was come that He should go to His Father, He loved them (from that time, *i.e.* from the Feast of the *Passover*—onwards) to the end. And supper having begun, etc." It seems to me clear that the language used by John forces us to the conclusion that such a Supper as this, the attendant circumstances of which were to be an example of the love of Jesus to the end, could not occur at any other time than that of the Paschal Feast. If, therefore, John subsequently speaks of the events which followed this Supper as occurring before the *Passover*, he must contradict himself. Here, then, we have a remarkably clear confirmation of the conclusion already arrived at from Joh. xii. 1, and it appears to me that the defenders of the unity of the Gospels have not as yet attached sufficient importance to this passage.

The words "buy those things that we have need of against the feast," *ad festum celebrandum*, Joh. xiii. 29, can hardly be deemed so decisive. But they are certainly not entirely without weight, as Tholuck has already recognized.² For the supposition of the disciples that our Lord had bidden Judas Iscariot to make the necessary purchases for the feast during the course of the night, is only intelligible on the idea that the next day, as was the case with the 15th of Nisan, was, from the morning onwards, one of so much sanctity through its Sacrifices and Convocations, that such purchases, which it might be necessary to attend to during the day, though allowed by the law,³ would have caused an interruption to the celebration of the feast which would have been painful to a pious Israelite.⁴ Besides, the idea of almsgiving (xiii. 29) was specially suitable for this festal night, since on the following day every Israelite was if possible to eat the *Chagigah* with the utmost festivity attainable.

This passage, therefore, is also more in favour of, than opposed to, the synoptical view.

But what are we to say to Joh. xviii. 28, the passage on which, as we have seen above, the greatest weight is wont

¹ On account of the emphasis on *πρὸ τ. ἑορτ. τ. πάσχα*, as an antithetical clause, it stands first.

² *Commentary on St. John*, p. 312 (Clark's transl.).

³ See p. 353.

⁴ Neh. x. 32.

to be laid as the very seat of the contradiction? At the trial of Jesus, which took place on the early morning (ἦν δὲ πρωΐα), the Jews "went not into the prætorium, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover" (ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα). Here certainly it seems that the Paschal Supper (τὸ φαγ. τὸ πάσχα) is still in the future, and not to be celebrated till the evening of the current day. Everything here depends on the meaning of the words φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα. Our opponents limit it to the celebration of the Paschal Supper on the 14th of Nisan. The advocates of the Gospel harmony on the other hand endeavour to show that it can be used for the celebration belonging to the following feast-day, *i.e.* the eating of the Chagigah on the 15th of Nisan. The only mistake committed by these latter is in holding that the Chagigah is here meant to the exclusion of the Paschal Supper¹ strictly so called. The meaning of φαγεῖν is naturally determined by what is contained in and comprised by τὸ πάσχα. The word פסח (from פסח "to pass over," which here refers to the destroying angel passing over the Israelites, when he slew the firstborn in Egypt) indicates "passing over," "sparing," "delivering," "setting free." Its first meaning, therefore, is the feast in commemoration of that deliverance, celebrated on the evening of the 14th of Nisan; and then, *the lamb* which was killed that same day, and, as at the original institution, eaten in common. Now if πάσχα is employed in this strictest sense, φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα can mean nothing more than eating the Paschal Supper of the 14th of Nisan. We find, however, that the idea of the "Passover" was enlarged, and that in a twofold sense. The evening of the 14th of Nisan, when the Passover had to be offered, was viewed as the eve of the 15th. This is the case in all those passages where the feast is spoken of as lasting seven days.² The Passover proper formed the commencement of the 15th of Nisan, so that this day, including of course its eve, could itself be called *the Passover*.³ In this case τὸ πάσχα had again a double sense, indicating not only the festival from the evening of the

¹ See Lightfoot, on *Joh. xvi.* 28.

² See p. 330.

³ See *Jos. v. 11*, and the Talmud, *passim*.

14th. to that of the 15th of Nisan, but also the sacrifices and the food customary at this feast; and then *φάγειν τὸ πάσχα* will specially refer to a participation in the Supper on the 14th and the Chagigah¹ on the 15th, but of course not the latter to the exclusion of the former. In conclusion, it is well known that the whole period of the feast, especially in St. John's Gospel, was also called after the one conspicuous day, "the Passover." And so, too, the legal sacrifices and food proper to the whole feast received the same name.² *Φάγειν τὸ πάσχα* in this sense, is therefore synonymous with the celebration of the Paschal season, by a participation in the particular food (*τὰ δέσματα*) and meals appointed by the law. In like manner, we read 2 Ch. xxx. 22, of the Passover, "they did eat the feast" [A. V. "throughout the feast"] "seven days." Where it deserves notice that this "eating" is specially referred to eating the Chagigah, the participial clause *מִן־הַכֹּזֶבֶת וּמִן־הַזֶּמֶן* being appended immediately to the principal clause.³

¹ By the Chagigah, according to the Talmudists, we understand the free-will offerings called in the Old Testament *זֶבֶח וְזֶבֶח*, which the pious Israelites, in obedience to the injunction, Deut. xvi. 16, Ex. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 20, were in the habit of offering in large numbers, at the great feasts. At the Passover they were regularly offered on the morning of the 15th of Nisan, after the morning sacrifice, i.e. in our Lord's time about 9 a.m. These offerings were to be fully consumed, in obedience to Lev. vii. 16, 17, xix. 6, 7, within the space of two days, and the intervening night. Tract. פסחים, ch. 7, § 4.

² Cf. Deut. xvi. 2, where *פסח* is immediately explained by *אֶת־יֶבֶקֶר* and continually in the Talmud. We find another somewhat different use of *פסח*. 2 Chron. xxxv. 7—9. It seems there only to stand for "the small cattle," the kids or goats, offered, forming the Chagigah, in opposition to the bullocks *בָּקָר*, offered at the same time. For the actual *פסח* was one of the "small cattle," a kid or a lamb. This extension of the idea is therefore scarcely identical with that referred to above, and Tholuck is mistaken when he exchanges them.

³ We find an analogous instance in the various meanings of the word *δέσματα*, which, in the most restricted sense, is only used of the 15th of Nisan, in the widest, of the whole period of the feast, including the Passover on the 14th. The analogy holds further, for it stands at the same time for the feast, and the food proper for the feast, the leavened bread, and the feast of unleavened bread. The context alone can prove what is meant in each particular instance.

Which, then, of these three meanings of *πάσχα* are we to adopt in the passage under consideration? Certainly not the first. St. John's "*usus loquendi*" is against this. Besides, as we have already seen, the whole context of the Gospel abundantly evidences that we have already reached the 15th of Nisan; this is indeed so plain that it does not even require to be assumed as known to the readers, which, however, would involve no difficulty. We must, therefore, adopt either the second, which appears to me the most probable, or the third interpretation. Neither of these, of themselves, excludes the Passover on the 14th of Nisan in the strictest sense, though they do so in the passage under consideration. Now, if the Jews refused to enter the prætorium on the morning of the 15th of Nisan, after the commencement of the Passover, with the view of "eating the Passover," it follows, as a matter of course, that these words refer only to what remained of the Passover, *i.e.* the Passover excluding the 14th of Nisan, or, in other words, the partaking of the Chagigah. For example, if on Easter Sunday morning a preacher were to call on us to keep Easter, should we not understand merely what remained of the Easter festival, excluding what was already past? The only case in which the clause *ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα* could create any difficulty, which would indeed then be inextricable, would be, if it could bear no other meaning than the eating of the Passover on the 14th. This, however, is evidently not the case.

Besides, it has been already correctly pointed out by Lightfoot, *in loc.*, that the uncleanness entailed by entering the house of a heathen only lasted till the evening,¹ and consequently could form no hindrance at all to the eating (*φαγεῖν*) of the Paschal lamb, because this did not take

¹ It is hardly possible that there should be any reasonable doubt that the pollution contracted by entering a heathen's house lasted only till the evening. (See Hengstenberg, *u. s.* p. 802.) Maimonides, who was very familiar with the Jewish ordinances, remarks (Bynæus, *De Morte J. Christi*, III. p. 9), that a heathen was looked on in the same light as a man with an issue. This also is plain from Tract *ἑל'ק'ט*, ch. 3, § 1. We see, however, Lev. xv. 5 sq., that the defilement caused by touching such a person, or anything connected with him, lasted only to the evening. The corresponding practice is evidenced in Judith xii 7-9.

place till the evening, while the killing (*θύειν*) in the course of the afternoon might be performed by others; while, on the other hand, the Jews were really hindered from eating the Chagigah, which commenced in the course of the day.

The imperial governor Pilate makes mention¹ of the custom of releasing a malefactor to the Jews at the Pass-over (*ἐν τῷ πάσχα*), i.e. at all events² during the Paschal Feast (commencing with the 15th of Nisan, and including the preceding evening), and probably on the 15th itself. Now since he released Barabbas on the day of our Lord's crucifixion, if we suppose that this is placed by John on the 14th of Nisan, he would have anticipated this custom, which is neither probable *per se*, nor from the terms of the narrative.

We have already shewn that the much controverted *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα*,³ Joh. xix. 14, stands for a Friday during the Paschal festival, and consequently at earliest the 15th of Nisan.

In conclusion, the sabbath or Saturday immediately following the day of our Lord's crucifixion is called "a high day," *μεγάλη*.⁴ But there is nothing in this to hinder our identifying it with the 16th of Nisan. On this day, indeed, that year there fell not merely the ordinary sabbath, but also the presentation of the wave-sheaf.⁵ When then this sabbath is called "a high day" it can naturally mean nothing more than that it was not a

¹ Joh. xviii. 39.

² See, on the expression *ἐν τῷ πάσχα*, p. 352.

³ The view of some harmonizers, that the 14th and not the 15th of Nisan is meant by the *בִּקְרַב דְּפֶסַח*, on which, according to the Babylonian Gemara, *Sanhedr.* vi. 6, Jesus was stoned (?) and hung to a tree, is opposed to the Talmudic usage. Nothing more follows from this than that a tradition and an interpretation of the Gospels existed at that time, according to which our Lord was represented to have died on the 14th, a view which, as we have seen (p. 356) has been accepted by far earlier and better-informed ecclesiastical writers. The additions to this tradition, e.g. that Jesus was condemned by the Jewish Sanhedrim alone, and was stoned, after a herald had been sent forth, to no purpose, for 40 days, to challenge any one to come forward for His defence, are evidently mere foolish fables, and give a clear proof that the Talmudic legends had not their immediate origin in the New Testament. The foundation of such fables may be easily guessed.

⁴ Joh. xix. 31.

⁵ See p. 334.

simple ordinary sabbath, but that, on the contrary, its celebration was contemporaneous with that of some other festival. It is true, that if John had employed the expression ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ μεγάλη, the terminology of the Jewish festivals would have obliged us to identify it with the 15th of Nisan; but in no other case would this have been so. Besides, a more profound quiet and greater sanctity already belonged to this day as the regular, weekly sabbath, than to the first day of the festival. The true relation is readily misconceived by us Christians, while we imagine that the Jewish sabbath exactly corresponded to our Sunday, while with us [Germans] the great feasts are considered more holy, and observed with more of the rest belonging to the sabbath than ordinary Sundays.

After all that has been said, I think that every unprejudiced enquirer will feel himself perfectly warranted in maintaining the fullest agreement between John and the Synoptists, in their account of our Lord's death. And, unless I am greatly mistaken, the root of this supposed discrepancy lies at the present time—at the *present time*, I say, because in the first ages of the Church, as we have already seen,¹ their interpretation of St. John's Gospel was influenced by ritualistic considerations—mainly in the mistake which has been committed in at once identifying the "eating of the Passover" in St. John with the φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα of the Synoptists, without paying sufficient attention to the connection and the *usus loquendi* of the Evangelist.

§ 3. *The Year and Day of Christ's Death.*

As the result of our previous investigations, we must adopt 30 A.D. = 783 A.U.C., as the year of our Lord's death. This is a point on which no doubt can be thrown when once what we have said on the year of Christ's birth, the time of the commencement of His public ministry, the date of the Baptist's imprisonment, etc., or indeed any one of these particulars, is accepted as proved. We now propose to enquire whether it cannot be established independently,

¹ p. 355.

and consequently be employed in confirming the before-mentioned dates; and in conclusion, to take a short critical review of the traditional statements on this point, varying as they do so materially from one another.

Some writers, to aid them in ascertaining the year of Christ's death, have attempted to make use of the statement of the Evangelists,¹ that the sun was darkened during the last three hours of our Lord's death-struggle, *i.e.* from 12 o'clock to 3 P.M. This attempt was first made by the Fathers. With Eusebius at their head, they appealed to a passage in the writings of Phlegon of Tralles,² an historian of the second century, who mentions a very considerable eclipse of the sun, in the course of the 202nd Olympiad, occurring at the sixth hour of the day, and accompanied in Bithynia with an earthquake. Now, since this eclipse was visible in Palestine, and several of its features, *e.g.* the earthquake, the hour of the day, and on the whole, the date, agreed with the miraculous darkness described by the Evangelists, it was natural enough to identify the two. But they overlooked the fact that

¹ Matt. xxvii. 45, Mar. xv. 33, Lu. xxiii. 44.

² The passage, as given in Syncellus, p. 324, ed. Paris, runs thus: Γράφει δὲ καὶ Φλέγων ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας (συνάγων) περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν (the eclipse of the sun in the reign of Tiberius) τάδε· τῷδ' ἔτει τῆς σβ' (202) Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἐκλειψις ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον, καὶ νύξ ὥρα ἕκτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι· σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατεστρέψατο. Though there can be no doubt as to the Olympiad, there has been no small controversy as to the particular year intended, as we find in ancient authors sometimes the second, and sometimes the first mentioned. (See Anger, *de Temp. in Act. Apost. ratione*, p. 29.) If the question depends merely on the original reading in Eusebius, it must be the fourth year of Ol. 202 that is meant, inasmuch as he makes the eclipse coincide with the 19th year of the reign of Tiberius (August, 785—786 A.U.C.), saying, *Chronicon*: Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος προΐει ἔτους ιθ' τοῦ Τιβερίου βασιλέως, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν ἀλλοῖς μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρομεν ἰστορούμενα κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα. ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπεν, Βιθυνία ἐσείσθη, Νικαίας τὰ πολλὰ ἔπεσεν. In Jerome's translation we find the 18th year of Tiberius, a year agreeing neither with the second nor with the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad, which began about July 29 A.D., 782 A.U.C.; the reason evidently being that he is merely giving, in an unsuitable place, his view with regard to the year of our Lord's death. The confusion with regard to the years of the Olympiad, the second or the fourth, has its root in the different views entertained by the ancients about the year of our Lord's death

Phlegon was speaking of an astronomical darkening of the sun, an *ἔκλειψις*, while nothing of the kind can have been intended by the *ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος*, or the *σκότος* of the Evangelists. An ordinary eclipse can only happen at the time of new moon, never at the full moon, when the Jewish Passover was celebrated. There is much more reason, according to the calculations of Wurm,¹ with whom Ideler agrees,² to identify the darkness mentioned by Phlegon with the great eclipse of the sun on November 24th, 29 A.D., visible in Western Asia. Phlegon, therefore, must have written the *first* year of the 202nd Olympiad = July 29 A.D.—July 30 A.D., and those ancient writers who first identified the eclipse mentioned by him, of which neither the month nor the day of the month were mentioned, with the darkness at our Lord's death, probably placed this event quite correctly in A.D. 30.

The well-known testimony of the historian Josephus,³ the original text of which has been cleverly restored by Gieseler,⁴ furnishes unfortunately no more than the general date, that our Lord was crucified by the command of Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor.

No question, however, is of greater importance in our enquiry than on what day of the week the 15th of Nisan must have fallen in the year of our Lord's death. For since this day always fell on the day of the full moon, we shall be able by the help of lunar tables to determine the year. Our exegetical investigation has proved that the 15th of Nisan fell in the year of our Lord's death on a Friday. Now the only year between 29 A.D. and 33 A.D. (the period in which the year of our Lord's death must at all events be placed) in which the 15th of Nisan fell on a Friday was 30 A.D. Consequently our Lord must have died on the 15th of Nisan, 30 A.D.; the very year which we have been led to by many other reasons as the year of our Lord's death. In this year the 15th of Nisan corresponded to the 7th of April of the old Julian Calendar;

¹ Bengel's *Archiv*, vol. II. p. 304, "The eclipse was total in a large portion of ancient Babylonia, and Chaldea, and of Western Persia, nearly total at Nicea. The greatest darkness about 11 a.m."

² Ideler, *Hdbch.* II. 417.

³ *Ant.* XVIII. 3. 3

⁴ *Ecccl. Hist.* vol. I. p. 63 (Clark's translation).

and therefore it follows that our Lord was crucified on the 7th of April, 30 A.D.

Our Lord's crucifixion is placed by Tertullian¹ and other Fathers in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, and if they ever mention the consuls of the year they as a rule name Rubellius Geminus, and Fufius Geminus.² In this latter statement, however, which assumes 29 A.D. as the year of Christ's death, we cannot recognize any independent tradition. On the contrary, the consulate was determined out of the year of Tiberius' reign, and that out of Lu. iii. 1. Strange indeed is such an interpretation of these words of St. Luke,³ which refer to anything rather than the date of our Lord's death. Others again assign other years: e.g. Eusebius, who at the same time assumes a duration of nearly four years⁴ for our Lord's ministry.⁵ The date he gives is the 19th of Tiberius = 33 A.D., which has been again corrected by Jerome to the 18th year.

The day which has been usually assigned as the date of our Lord's death is the eighth of the Kalends of April = March 25, the vernal equinox of the Julian Calendar.⁶ The purely ideal ground of this assumption is perfectly clear.⁷

Ideler⁸ in reference to this last view brings forward prominently the fact that on the 25th of March, 29 A.D., the moon was in her last quarter, and that consequently the Passover could not have been held at that time. In

¹ *Advers. Jud.* 8; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, I. p. 339; Julius Africanus, in Jerome, *in Dan.* c. 9; Lactantius, *Instit.* iv. 10, etc.

² e.g. Tertullian, *u. s.*: "Quæ passio perfecta est sub Tiberio Cæsare, Coss. Rubellio Gemino et Fufio Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus Paschæ, die vii. Cal. Apr. die primo azymorum, quo agnum ut occiderent ad vesperam a Moyse fuerat præceptum... Hujus (Tiberii) quinto decimo anno passus est Christus, annos habens quasi xxx cum pateretur."

³ This tradition of the Latin Church, as it may be called from its chief maintainers, has been defended in the most scientific manner by Abbé Sanclemente in his *Exercitatio Chronologica*.

⁴ οὐδ' ἄλως τετραέτης τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκίας χρόνος.

⁵ *Hist. Eccl.* I. 10.

⁶ Tertull. *l. c.*; Augustin, *De Trinitat.* iv. 5. See also the Paschal table of Hippolytus, and the 84 years Paschal cycle of the Latin Church, if traced back to 29 A.D. See p. 358.

⁷ See p. 128.

⁸ *Hdbch.* II. 421.

all this we have so many striking proofs, that in enquiries of this nature we must not look to tradition, but to its original sources. Starting from these we shall find our conclusions corroborated by tradition; for Clemens Alexandrinus,¹ who places the date of our Lord's crucifixion in the 15th year of Tiberius, mentions that according to some accurate calculators it took place in the 16th year of his reign.

CHAPTER II.

THE EVENTS OF PASSION WEEK, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THEIR SEVERAL DAYS.

HAVING thus accurately fixed the central point of Passion Week, the day of the Crucifixion, and discovered that it was a Friday, 30 A.D., being according to the Jewish Calendar the 15th of Nisan, according to the Julian April 7, we may proceed to determine the events of the several days of the week. In this we are undertaking a problem in the solution of which the above conclusion as to the day of the Crucifixion ought to be again confirmed. And we have a striking proof of the harmony of the Evangelists in the fact that if, on the authority of St. John, we place our Lord's entrance into Jerusalem on the 10th of Nisan, all the data furnished by the Synoptists bring us to the evening of the 12th of Nisan for the events recorded Mark xiv. 1, cf. Matt. xxvi. 2, where we are expressly told that it wanted only *two* days to the Feast of the Passover, i.e. to the evening of the 14th of Nisan. This gives a clear proof of their perfect agreement not only in the date of our Lord's death, but also in all their notes of time from His entry into Jerusalem to that event. A combination of all the details in all four Gospels will render this portion of our Lord's history not merely more full and complete, but also more clear and intelligible.

¹ *Stromata*, I. p. 340.

Before we proceed to arrange the present section, commencing with our Lord's entrance into Jerusalem, there is one event to which we must direct our attention, viz. the Supper at Bethany, in the course of which our Lord was anointed.¹ It is evident that one and the same event is recorded by all three Evangelists, and this is now pretty universally allowed. A difficulty, however, appears to arise from the circumstance that John records it before the triumphal entry, while the Synoptists relate it afterwards. But it does not follow because it is related afterwards that it really occurred afterwards. On the contrary, the Synoptists do not give us a single syllable to fix the day when it happened. Mark says only, ch. xiv. 3, καὶ ὁὗτος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βηθαμία: Matthew, xxvi. 6, τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένου ἐν Βηθανίᾳ, so that there is nothing in what they say to forbid the view that the narrative is put after its true place by the Synoptists, while its true chronology has happily been preserved to us by John. Reasons indeed are not wanting why, in accordance with their purpose, the two Synoptists may have selected this very place for the introduction of the narrative. Not having informed their readers of our Lord's earlier visits to Bethany, they bring Him on this occasion also at once into Jerusalem, without speaking of His having stopped at Bethany on His way. John was naturally obliged to adopt a different plan. Now, if the Synoptists had expressly mentioned this sojourn at Bethany, it might indeed have surprised us if they had not at the same time related the Supper there; but not otherwise. Besides, by introducing the narrative in the latter place they had an opportunity of giving a striking example of the character of Judas Iscariot, from which his betrayal of his Master and greatest Benefactor might develop itself.² Indeed, in the Synoptical arrangement this narrative introduces the act of betrayal.³ The fact that it stands recorded among the events of Passion Week supplies a tolerably accurate date of the event. And it may be noticed that even if

¹ Joh. xii. 1—8, Mar. xiv. 3—9, Matt. xxvi. 6—13.

² Mar. xiv. 4, Matt. xxvi. 8. Cf. Joh. xii. 4—6.

³ Mar. xiv. 10, 11, Matt. xxvi. 14—16.

any are inclined to pass an unfavourable verdict on the chronology of this narrative, yet since it is not introduced till after Mark xiv. 1, Matt. xxvi. 2, our remarks on the length of the period under consideration¹ will not be in the least invalidated.

We learn from Joh. xii. 1 that our Lord entered Bethany on Friday, the eighth of Nisan. He remained there over the sabbath, and partook of the supper in question in the house of Simon the leper,² to which he had therefore been invited together with Lazarus. It was not till the following day, τῇ ἐπαιύριον, that He set out for Jerusalem.

Sunday, the 10th of Nisan = April 2nd.

Jesus enters Jerusalem amid the acclamations of the crowds who welcome Him as the Messiah, and strew palm-branches in His way, and cover the ass on which He is riding and the road with their garments.³ He presents Himself to be publicly recognized as the Messiah, riding on an ass and applying to Himself the prophecy Zech. ix. 9.⁴ His recognition by the crowds awakens in the minds of the Pharisees feelings of hatred, envy, and fear.⁵ It is expressly stated by Mark, whose chronology is here the most precise,⁶ that after Jesus had entered Jerusalem and visited the temple, in the evening, ὁψίας ἡδὴ οὐσῆς τῆς ὥρας, He returned to Bethany with the Twelve.

It was doubtless intentionally that our Lord did not shew Himself in Jerusalem till the 10th of Nisan, the day on which the Paschal lamb was to be set apart.⁷ No one, however, but Himself knew that He Himself was to be the true ever-efficacious Passover.

We see, therefore, that the Church is right in keeping our Lord's entry into Jerusalem as the Messiah on Palm Sunday

¹ See page 376.

² Mar. xiv. 3, Matt. xxvi. 6.

³ Joh. xii. 12—19, Mar. xi. 1—11, Lu. xix. 29—44, Matt. xxi. 1—11.

⁴ Cf. Matt. xxi. 5, Joh. xii. 14, 15.

⁵ Joh. xii. 19, Lu. xix. 39.

⁶ Mar. xi. 11.

⁷ Ex. xii. 2.

Monday, the 11th of Nisan = April 3rd.

Mar. xi. 12—19. Matt. xxi. 12—17. Lu. xix. 45—48. On the following day,¹ i.e. on the Monday, Jesus returns from Bethany, and on His way curses the fig-tree.² Arrived at the temple He cleanses it of the buyers and sellers, and money-changers, even as we learn from Joh. ii. 14—22 He had already done at the Passover two years before. This then was His first and last work of reformation at the temple. Even the children raise their hosannas in honour of the Son of David.³ The high priests and scribes plan how they may best compass His condemnation.⁴ When even is come He retires again to Bethany.⁵

Tuesday, the 12th of Nisan = April 4th.

This is of all the closing days of our Lord's life, with the exception of the two feast-days, the 14th and 15th of Nisan, the most full of action, and specially rich in our Lord's discourses with His disciples and disputes with His enemies.⁶

In the morning of this day⁷ our Lord returns from Bethany to Jerusalem with His disciples. On the way they see the fig-tree that had been cursed the day before, dried up,⁸ and Jesus takes occasion to speak to His disciples on the power of faith and prayer. Matthew gives us the same event,⁹ but, according to his usual habit, in a summary form, placing it on the same day

¹ τῇ ἐπαύριον, Mar. xi. 12.

² Mar. xi. 12—14. On the Mount of Olives were a great many fig-trees, as the name of the village Βηθφαγή בית פא, "house of figs") indicates.

³ Matt. xxi. 14—16.

⁴ Mar. xi. 18, Lu. xix. 47, 48.

⁵ Mar. xi. 19, Matt. xxi. 17. Cf. Lu. xxi. 37.

⁶ Mar. xi. 20—xiv. 2, Matt. xxi. 18—xxvi. 5, Lu. xx. 1—xxi. 38, Joh. xii. 20—36, 37—43.

⁷ Mar. xi. 20, Matt. xxi. 18; Luke xx. 1, gives only the vague general expression ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν. Cf. Lu. xix. 47.

⁸ Mar. xi. 20—26.

⁹ Matt. xxi. 18—22.

on which our Lord took advantage of it to instruct His disciples.

Arrived at Jerusalem He repairs to the temple—it was the last time He visited it,—and many of the discourses and conversations which took place there are given us by the Synoptists.¹ Part of them were delivered within the enclosure of the temple,² part outside, to His disciples alone.³

On entering the temple the Pharisaic party of the Sanhedrim (specified as “high priests, scribes, and elders of the people”)⁴ come to Him in an official capacity to enquire “by what authority” He had done “these things,”⁵ i.e. the cleansing of the temple the day before. A similar question had been put to Him on a like occasion⁶ when they enquired, “What sign shewest Thou unto us, seeing thou doest such things?” Our Lord foils them by the enquiry as to the origin of the baptism of John, whom the people held in the highest honour.⁷ He then openly attacks them in two parables, the former of which is given by Matthew alone,⁸ the latter by all the Synoptists.⁹ Although they clearly recognize His meaning, they do not venture to lay hands on Him in the presence of the people,¹⁰ but “left Him and went their way.”¹¹ Matthew here adds a parable,¹² which had been already, with the exception of the feature of one of the invited guests not having on a wedding-garment, given by Luke¹³ in its true historical place.

After this the Pharisees together with the Herodians put the insidious enquiry about the tribute money.¹⁴

¹ Mar. xi. and onwards, parall.

² Mar. xii. 44 sq., Lu. xxi. 4 sq., Matt. xxiii. 39 sq.

³ Mar. xiii. 1—37, Matt. xxiv. 1—xxvi. 2, Lu. xxi. 5—36.

⁴ Cf. Matt. xxi. 45.

⁵ ταῦτα, Lu. xx. 2, Mar. xi. 28, Matt. xxi. 23.

⁶ Joh. ii. 18.

⁷ Mar. xi. 27—33, Matt. xxi. 23—27, Lu. xx. 1—8.

⁸ Matt. xxi. 28—32.

⁹ Matt. xxi. 33—44, Mar. xii. 1—11, Lu. xx. 9—18.

¹⁰ Matt. xxi. 45, 46, Mar. xii. 12, Lu. xx. 19.

¹¹ Mar. v. 8.

¹² Matt. xxii. 1—14.

¹³ Lu. xiv. 16—24.

¹⁴ Mar. xii. 13—17, Matt. xxii. 15—22, Lu. xx. 20—26.

The same day, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,¹ an attempt is made by the Sadducees to perplex our Lord with regard to the doctrine of the resurrection.²

A lawyer from among the Pharisees, encouraged by the defeat of the Sadducees, puts a question to Jesus about the chief commandment of the law.³ After our Lord had, even in the judgment of the audience, given him a true and excellent answer, no one durst ask Him any more questions.⁴

On this our Lord questions the assembled Pharisees on the reason of the apparent contradiction between the titles of the Messiah in Holy Scripture, "the Son of David" and the "Lord of David."⁵ Had they but known these, had they but known them in their deep inner meaning, they would not have rejected Him who put the question.

After this our Lord, in the presence of the multitude and His own disciples, publicly reproves the corruption of the scribes and Pharisees.⁶ The length of this discourse in Matthew is due to his having worked in with it another of nearly similar purport recorded Lu. xi. 39—52.

Sitting before the alms' chest, which stood in the Court of the Women,⁷ our Lord commends the charity of the poor widow.⁸

Then, quitting the magnificent temple buildings for ever, Jesus foretells to His disciples the evil times which were to come, the destruction of the City and Temple, His Coming, and the Last Judgment.⁹ Here, again, Matthew is particularly rich in discourses. He has, however, collected several sayings of our Lord, which we learn from Luke had been spoken earlier in His ministry.¹⁰

¹ Matt. xxii. 23.

² Mar. xii. 18—27, Matt. xxii. 23—33, Lu. xx. 27—39.

³ Mar. xii. 28—34, Matt. xxii. 34—40.

⁴ Mar. xii. 34, Lu. xx. 40. Cf. Matt. xxii. 46.

⁵ Matt. xxii. 41—46, Mar. xii. 35—37, Lu. xx. 41—44.

⁶ Mar. xii. 38—40, Lu. xx. 45—47, Matt. xxiii. 1—39.

⁷ Winer, *R. W. B.* "Tempel."

⁸ Mar. xii. 41—44, Lu. xxi. 1—4.

⁹ Matt. xxiv. xxv., Mar. xiii., Lu. xxi. 5—36.

¹⁰ Matt. xxiv. 37—41. Cf. Lu. xvii. 26 sq., Matt. xxv. 14—30. Cf. Lu. xix. 12—27.

When our Lord had ended all these sayings, *i.e.* towards the evening of the 12th of Nisan, He said to His disciples,¹ "Ye know that after two days is the Feast of the Passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified." This note of time affords a striking proof of the chronological unity of the Gospels, since the Passover fell on the evening of the 14th of Nisan, *i.e.* two days after the evening of the 12th.

On the same evening the Sanhedrim² held a sitting with the view of getting Jesus into their power and putting Him to death.³

A day so full of events as the 12th of Nisan is the most suitable for inserting the circumstances recorded in Joh. xii. 20—30. An additional argument in favour of this appears to lie in our Lord's having spoken of His death as at hand, as He did Matt. xxvi. 2. A more decisive reason is given by the close of the section in St. John,⁴ *καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκρύβη ἀπ' αὐτῶν*. Jesus now retires from Jerusalem in order that He may pass the closing days of His life undisturbed with His disciples. The place of His retirement may with tolerable certainty be fixed at Bethany, on the Mount of Olives. It is plain that He was sojourning outside the city, from the fact that He sends two of His disciples (*viz.* Peter and John, Luke xxii. 8) *into* the city to make preparations.⁵

The epoch in our Lord's life which commences with the evening of the 12th of Nisan is suitably enough employed by John for making some general reflections.⁶

Wednesday, the 13th of Nisan = April 5th.

During this period, spent by our Lord in retirement and in calm affectionate communion with His disciples, He is betrayed to the Sanhedrim by one of their number, Judas

¹ Matt. xxvi. 1—2.

² Cf. Mar. xiv. 17, *ἦν δὲ τὸ πᾶσχα καὶ τὰ ἕξυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας*.

³ Matt. xxvi. 3—5, Mar. xiv. 1, 2.

⁴ Joh. xii. 36.

⁵ Mar. xiv. 13, Lu. xxii. 10, Matt. xxvi. 18.

⁶ Joh. xii. 37—43.

Iscariot.¹ It is possible that a portion of our Lord's discourse with His disciples at this period is preserved to us Joh. xii. 44—50.

Maundy Thursday, the 14th of Nisan = April 6th.

Lu. xxii. 7—30, 31—39. Mar. xiv. 12—25, 26—31. Matt. xxvi. 17—29, 30—35. Joh. xiii. 1—32, 33—38; xiv.—xvii.

On the 14th of Nisan² Jesus sends His two disciples, Peter and John, to prepare the Passover in an upper chamber in the city.³

In the evening, ὥσας γενομένης,⁴ about six o'clock, as is indicated by the words ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα⁵—the Passover being killed between three and five in the afternoon—Jesus sat down to meat with the Twelve,⁶ thus proving the correctness of the Church's view which places the institution of the Lord's Supper on a Thursday.

The essential identity of the circumstances of this Supper as recorded by the Evangelists admits of easy proof. With the exception of Matthew and Mark, however, who agree, the order of events is different in the different

¹ Lu. xxii. 1—6, Mar. xiv. 3—11, Matt. xxvi. 14—16. (Cf. Lu. xxii. 1, ἡγγάριζε δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡ λεγομένη πάσχα.) 'Η ἑορτὴ, κ. τ. λ. should certainly be translated, "the feast-day of unleavened bread which is called the Passover," not simply "the feast of unleavened," etc. For apart from Luke's usage of τὸ πάσχα, in the most restricted sense, if the words signified the entire period of the feast, the additional clause ἡ λεγ. πάσχ. would be perfectly superfluous. While, on the other hand, if ἡ ἑορτὴ signifies a single feast-day, it stands quite in its place, to fix the day as the 14th of Nisan. So also Lu. xxii. 7. This, however, is a mere critical remark, the correctness or incorrectness of which has no influence whatever on the chronological question. For the Paschal festival began on the evening of the 14th of Nisan. And when we read "the Passover," on the 14th of Nisan, "was drawing nigh," the day indicated must have been the 13th.

² ἡ ἡμέρα τ. ἀζύμ. ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα, Lu. xxii. 7. τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμ. τ. ἀζύμ. ὅτε ἔθουον τ. πάσχα, Mar. xiv. 12. τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμ. Matt. xxvi. 17.

³ Lu. xxii. 7—13, Mar. xiv. 12—16, Matt. xxvi. 17—19.

⁴ Matt. xxvi. 20, Mar. xiv. 17.

⁵ Lu. xxii. 14.

⁶ Cf. Joh. xiii. 2.

Evangelists. The following Table shews their relation to one another.

MATTHEW and MARK.	LUKE.	JOHN.
Reference to the traitor during the Supper. Mar. xiv. 18—21. Matt. xxvi. 21—25.	Introduction to the Supper. Lu. xxii. 15—18.	The washing of the disciples' feet, after the commencement of the Supper, as a symbol of humility and love. John xiii. 2—11.
Institution of the Lord's Supper. Mar. xiv. 22—25. Matt. xxvi. 26—29.	Institution of the Lord's Supper, after the meal. vv. 19, 20.	Jesus sits down at table again, explains the symbolical action, and during the meal refers to the traitor, who goes out. vv. 12—30.
Our Lord's declaration that Peter would deny Him thrice in that very night, on the way to the Mount of Olives. Mar. xiv. 26—31. ¹ Matt. xxvi. 30—35.	Our Lord points out the traitor during the meal. vv. 21—23	
	Dispute of the disciples which should be the greatest. vv. 24—30.	Our Lord's declaration that Peter would deny Him thrice that night. vv. 31—38.
	Our Lord's declaration that Peter would deny Him thrice. vv. 31—38.	Discourses before our Lord's setting out to the Mount of Olives. cc. xiv.—xvii.

In arranging these events we may proceed on the assumption that it was not Luke's intention, as indeed he intimates himself, to observe strict chronological succession. On the contrary, he makes the institution of the Lord's Supper so completely the centre of his narrative that he gives the precedence to all that relates to it. For, in the first place, though he agrees with St. Paul in placing the institution of the Lord's Supper immediately after or at the close of the meal,² he does not mention the pointing out of the betrayer till a later point in the narrative,³ and

¹ It is Mark alone who states that Peter was to deny our Lord thrice "before the cock should crow twice," xiv. 30. The others say before "the cock crows." On this difference we will remark hereafter.

² μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι, Lu. xxii. 20. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 25. ³ vv. 21—23.

that although his own words, "the hand of him that betrayeth Me is with Me on the table,"¹ shew that it must have occurred during the meal. It follows, therefore, that Luke has placed these two events, in spite of their different position in the Gospels, in the same chronological relation with Matthew and Mark. Secondly, the dispute of the disciples about precedence is recorded by Luke still later.² And yet if we compare the admonitory words of our Lord in Luke,³ "I am in the midst of you as One that serveth," with the account given by John, we can hardly doubt that the symbolical act of washing the disciples' feet, in consequence of which the words recorded Joh. xiii. 12—17, which so entirely correspond with them in meaning, were spoken, must have been suggested by this contention. From which it would follow that this also must have taken place during the meal before the traitor was pointed out. Indeed, Luke seems to intimate that his narrative is not here arranged in strict chronological order by the use of the loose connecting particle *καί*,⁴ "and there was *also* a strife among them," etc.

This, then, appears to me to be the arrangement of the events. Our Lord had just set Himself with His Apostles at table, when there arose a dispute among His disciples as to precedence,⁵ probably arising from their dissatisfaction with their places at table, and their relative nearness to their Master. On this, Jesus rose from table⁶ and commenced the foot-washing. Then, taking His place again at table, He discoursed on humility and love, and told them that they must not seek to be more than their Master, and in the course of His remarks He pointed out the traitor, who then went out. Then, after the departure of Judas Iscariot, at the close of the whole meal (*μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι*) He institutes the Feast of Love⁷ in commemora-

¹ Cf. Mar. xiv. 20, Matt. xxvi. 23, Joh. xiii. 26.

² vv. 24—30.

³ v. 27.

⁴ v. 24.

⁵ Cf. Matt. xx. 21, Mar. x. 37.

⁶ *ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δεῖπνου*, Joh. xiii. 1.

⁷ The institution of the Lord's Supper is not recorded by John, either during our Lord's Last Supper, nor in any other place. But of course we cannot conclude anything from this as to his ignorance of it. For, as he declares, Joh. xx. 30, it was not his intention to record everything; and even on the supposition that he was not the Apostle, and wrote at a far later period, he must have been acquainted

tion of His death. On this followed the prediction that Peter would deny Him thrice that night, and finally the discourses, Joh. xiv.—xvii. There is, however, one unimportant chronological difference relative to the prediction about Peter, which is placed by John and Luke before, and by Mark and Matthew during their walk to the Mount of Olives. Is it possible that our Lord may have alluded to this twice, so that it may have been recorded with nearly equal justice in both places?

Good Friday, or the 15th of Nisan = April 7th.

Joh. xviii. 1—xix. 42. Lu. xxii. 40—xxiii. 56. Mar. xiv. 32—xv. 47. Matt. xxvi. 36—xxvii. 61. The history of this day may be divided into four sections. (1) Our Lord's agony at Gethsemane. (2) His trial and condemnation before the judges. (3) His crucifixion and death on Golgotha. (4) And finally His burial in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea. The Church is right in commemorating our Lord's death on a Friday.

(1) Our Lord's agony and apprehension at Gethsemane.

In the night between the 14th and 15th of Nisan—the hour is not specified—our Lord goes with His disciples over the brook Kedron¹ to the garden of Gethsemane.² Arrived there our Lord, in anticipation of His approaching death, betakes Himself to prayer to God, while His disciples, wearied out and expecting nothing evil, fall asleep. After this, Judas arrives with the officers and betrays Him with a kiss.³

with the existence of the Lord's Supper, from its existence in the ritual of the Church. I discover an express reference to the Lord's Supper in 1 Joh. v. 6, where I interpret *δι' ὕδατος* of Baptism, and *δι' αἵματος* (which is there its most natural sense) of the Lord's Supper. These two Sacraments, in their objectivity, being administered to the congregation, by the Spirit, so that "these three agree in one." St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 23, asserts the institution of the Lord's Supper "in the same night that the Lord Jesus was betrayed."

¹ Joh. xviii. 1.

² Mar. xiv. 32, Matt. xxvi. 36. Gethsemane=Oilpress, a farm on the Mount of Olives, Lu. xxii. 39, Mar. xiv. 26, Matt. xxvi. 30. See Winer, *R. W. B.* "Gethsemane."

³ Joh. xviii. 1—11, Mar. xiv. 32—52, Matt. xxvi. 36—56, Lu. xxii. 39—53.

(2) Our Lord's trial and condemnation.

Our Lord's first hearing is before the Jewish authorities. As they were at once accusers and judges, the result of the trial could not be doubtful.¹ The personal and local details furnished by St. John are the clearest and most exact in the report of the trial. Our Lord was first led to Annas, Joh. xviii. 13. It was he who in his capacity of Nasi,² or President of the Greater Sanhedrim,³ held the preliminary examination of Jesus in his own house, vv. 15—23. This was probably done in order that, when the Sanhedrim assembled in its full numbers, the case might be presented to them suitably drawn up. The Court met, as we learn from the Synoptists, in the house⁴ of the High Priest Caiaphas, to which Annas (v. 24) had sent Jesus bound. On the other hand, it is maintained by Lücke, De Wette, Tholuck; Meyer, etc., that all that is recorded vv. 15—23 must have occurred in the house of Caiaphas. In support of this view, besides appealing to the clause commencing with γάρ they lay great stress on τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, v. 15, which in this connection must point out Caiaphas, since he alone

¹ Joh. xviii. 12—27, Mar. xiv. 53—72, Matt. xxvi. 57—75, Lu. xxii. 54—71.

² It is plain that γάρ, Joh. xviii. 13, cannot give the reason why our Lord was specially led to Annas. Indeed, this was altogether *en règle*, inasmuch as he was the president of the Sanhedrim before which Jesus was to be tried. On the contrary, this introduces something to specify that president more accurately. It is intended to lead the reader from his knowledge of the feelings of the step-son Caiaphas, already evidenced by his acts, to conclude what those of his step-father were. If this were not the intention of the clause, v. 14 would be almost superfluous.

³ See p. 185.

⁴ Did the Sanhedrim in our Lord's time assemble regularly in the high-priest's house, or, as appears more probable, only at the feast-time, to guard the more against any possible pollution? Winer (*R. W. B. "Synedrium"*) is of opinion that this was permitted only in cases of emergency, but this is contradicted by Matt. xxvi. 3, where we see the same occurring two days earlier, on the 12th of Nisan. At any rate they did not at that time hold their sittings any longer in the original session-chamber, the לשכת הגזית of the Talmudists (see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* p. 456), which we learn from them lay in the southern part of the temple court (Tract מדרות, ch. 5, §§ 3, 4; Tract פאה, ch. 3, § 6; Tract גזירות, ch. 11, § 2). Josephus, too, makes mention of the βουλή (*de Bell. Jud.* v. 4. 2) or βουλευτήριον (vi. 6. 3), at the south-west corner of the court of the temple near the xystus.

is called ἀρχιερεύς, v. 13.¹ But Annas is mentioned a few verses previously as decidedly the chief personage, and it is to him that our Lord is taken, v. 13, while Caiaphas is introduced quite parenthetically, vv. 13, 14, and only in his relation to Annas. Now, after the close of the parenthesis, v. 14, the reader would expect that the narrative should revert to the principal person, especially as there has not been a single word to intimate that Jesus had been already conducted to Caiaphas; on the contrary, συνεισῆλθε, v. 15, appears expressly to refer to the ἀνήγαγον, v. 13. Besides, had any change of place occurred it would have been all the more necessary to have specified it, since πρῶτον, v. 13, i.e. the first removal, points expressly to a second. And if Annas is called ἀρχιερεύς, he has the same title Lu. iii. 2, Acts iv. 6,² a fact which could not have been unknown to the readers, or at any rate might have been inferred from the context. To this may be added that it is expressly mentioned (v. 24) that Jesus was sent by Annas to Caiaphas. This verse is regarded as a gloss by Tholuck; a view which is not only at variance with the MSS. and the context, but also, as Lücke has already remarked, with πρῶτον (v. 13). Lücke, with whom Meyer and De Wette substantially agree, considers v. 24 as a supplementary clause, and understands it "for it was Annas who had sent Jesus bound to Caiaphas." These much esteemed writers however have hardly been led to this conclusion by St. John's Gospel alone, but by reference to the Synoptical Gospels also. For we find that Matthew and Mark³ place Peter's threefold denial in the house of Caiaphas. For it is only by adopting their view that John can be made to place it there also. This discrepancy between John and Matthew I must agree with Olshausen⁴ in allowing. This, however, in truth depends on the fact that Matthew, as we have often seen to be the case, combines the whole of our Lord's trial before the Jewish

¹ See Joh. xi. 49

² See p. 189.

³ Or rather only Matthew. See the express statement, Matt. xxvi 57. The testimony of Luke and Mark I intend to treat of separately.

⁴ *Commentary*, iv. 193, Clark's transl. I cannot, however, concur in what he says of the other two Evangelists, especially Luke.

authorities into one, and places it in the house of Caiaphas, because that was really the principal scene of the trial.

Now, since Peter's first denial appears, at any rate according to John, to have occurred in the house of Annas,¹ the question arises whether the other two denials recorded vv. 25—27 were conceived by John as occurring in the house of his step-son Caiaphas. This, among others, has been maintained by Hug.² But while other discrepancies between the Gospels are brought forward by him, he, strangely enough, does not say a word as to those which arise from adopting his view as to the locality of the denial. I must however hold that John's language gives no warrant for this view. It is true that our Lord's leading away to Caiaphas has been already mentioned (v. 24). But this is only done for the purpose of carrying the narrative of our Lord's trial, commencing v. 19, continuously to its close, while in v. 25 the narrative is taken up from v. 18, i.e. from where Peter was standing (in the house of Annas) and warming himself. The place and position of Peter remains the same, nay, the selfsame thought is resumed in the selfsame words (v. 18, *ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὼς καὶ θερμαινόμενος*. Cf. v. 25, *ἦν δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος ἐστὼς καὶ θερμαινόμενος*). On the opposite view the language used must even *per se*, still more in this context, have been something of this kind: *ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐλῇ τοῦ Καϊάφα Σίμων Πέτρος ἐστὼς καὶ θερμαινόμενος*. We may add that John himself represents Peter's presence at the judicial examination of our Lord in the house of Annas as something extraordinary, and due to the circumstance that "the other disciple," i.e. John himself, "was known to the high priest." Surely a similar explanatory clause must have been looked for in v. 25, if it was intended to assert that he was present at the trial before the superior court in the house of Caiaphas. At the sittings of the great Sanhedrim, especially one so full of momentous issues, the presence of witnesses not specially summoned could certainly only be

¹ Joh. xviii. 17, 18.

² *Gutachten über das Leben Jesu von Dr. Strauss*, in the *Freiburg. Zeitschrift für Theolog.* vol. ix. part 1, pp. 45—49.

permitted exceptionally. We see, then, that the sense requires the immediate connection of *v.* 28 with *v.* 24. Nothing is recorded of the trial in the house of Caiaphas, even if we determine to transfer *vv.* 25—27 to another locality: nor can we be surprised at this if we bear in mind the character of John's Gospel. The result of this trial is, however, plainly indicated by our Lord's being immediately conducted from Caiaphas to the prætorium (*v.* 28) where it was necessary that the sentence of death should receive its confirmation from the Roman Governor.

Luke agrees with John. He clearly divides our Lord's hearing before the Jewish authorities into two acts.¹ The latter decisive one, at which the whole Sanhedrim assembled, and gave its verdict, is represented as having taken place in the house of Caiaphas. On the other hand, Luke places Peter's three denials in the first act, which must have taken place in the house of Annas. This is clear from the following reasons. We read Luke xxii. 54 that our Lord was led *εἰς οἶκον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως*, *i.e.* according to the *usus loquendi* of the Evangelist,² not the *high priest*, whom he always names *ὁ ἱερεύς*, but the *Nasi* of the day, Annas, Lu. iii. 2. And indeed, even if this *usus loquendi* was not so consistently observed in Luke, and on the other hand *ὁ ἀρχιερεύς* implied in his writings sometimes the High Priest, yet in a passage where the highest judicial functions are treated of, it could mean nothing but the President of the supreme Jewish tribunal, *i.e.* the *Nasi*, an office filled at the time not by Caiaphas but by Annas. We have also another indirect confirmation of our view. St. Luke tells us, xxii. 61, that "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter." They were therefore in the same place. Now Peter, as we learn from our investigation of the passage in John, did not enter with our Lord into the house of Caiaphas. And therefore his third denial also is represented by Luke as having taken place in the house of Annas.

Further, if for the above reasons we understand Mark's words *πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα*³ of the *Nasi* of the day, it follows

¹ Lu. xxi. 54—65, and 66—71.

² See p. 186.

³ Mar. xiv. 53.

that this Evangelist also places the triple denial of Peter¹ in the house of Annas. He does not however expressly name the place in which the Sanhedrim subsequently assembled with their Nasi, viz. the house of the high priest, Caiaphas; for the words *v. 53, καὶ συνέρχονται αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*, do not signify "they come together to his house," but "there come with him all the high priests and scribes and elders." The place where they assembled is not mentioned. Readers who were acquainted with Jewish arrangements would understand that of itself.

If we proceed to enquire further as to the *time* when our Lord's trial before the Jews took place, we shall find that it occupied the last part of the night and the first part of the morning. The hour we can only approximate to, as follows. Part of the trial was contemporaneous with Peter's denial, which occurred at cock-crowing. This may have been about 3 o'clock in the morning, or perhaps a little earlier. "Cock-crowing," ἀλεκτοροφωνία, was the third of the four² three-hour watches into which the Jews

¹ Mar. xiv. 54, 66—72. If we are to believe that Mark was a disciple and interpreter of Peter, it is at least scarcely probable that he should have made any mistake on a point relating to Peter himself. [It is a simpler and more satisfactory mode of removing the discrepancy to suppose that Annas and Caiaphas occupied a common official residence.—Tr.]

² The Jews originally divided their night into three watches of four hours each. The first was called חֲרָשׁ שָׁאָר (LXX. ἀρχὰς φυλακῆς), Lam. ii. 19: the second, or middle watch חֲרָשׁ חֲרָשׁ (LXX. φυλακή μέση), Jud. vii. 19: the third and last חֲרָשׁ חֲרָשׁ (LXX. φυλακή ἐωθινή), Ex. xiv. 24, 1 Sam. xi. 11). The Talmudists generally maintained this division, and laid down the rule that "the watch" was the third part of the night (see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* p. 364), which appears also to have been always observed in the temple ritual. At any rate the time of the morning sacrifice, which was offered ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 1 (cf. Tract *ᾠמ*, ch. 3. § 2) or more accurately at the third hour=9 a.m., at which hour prayer was wont to be made, Acts ii. 15 (see Lengerke, *Comment. in Daniel*, p. 281), is called by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 4. 3) πρωτῆ, which, on the other hand, is evidently used by Mark (xiii. 35) for the fourth watch of the night. In the passage referred to, Mark gives us the names for all four watches. It is evident from Acts xii. 4 that the Jewish army had at that time adopted the Roman division of the night into four

of that time, following the Roman custom, divided the night,¹ *i.e.* the period between sunset and sunrise. Consequently, putting out of view the variable nature of the hours by which the ancients reckoned, it corresponded to the period from midnight to three in the morning. At any rate the trial concluded at the time of the *πρωία*,² or the fourth watch of the night,³ *i.e.* at the time of the vernal equinox, between 3 and 6 o'clock A.M. of our reckoning. Luke tells us, xxii. 66, that Jesus, "as soon as it was day" (ὡς ἐγένετο ἡμέρα), was led to the council of the Sanhedrim.

Now it was during the *πρωία* that our Lord was brought to the Roman governor Pontius Pilate, the reason being that since Judea had been a Roman province it was essential that every capital sentence passed by the Sanhedrim should be confirmed by the imperial authorities.⁴ We find the narrative Joh. xviii. 28—xix. 16. Lu. xxiii. 1—25. Mar. xv. 1—20. Matt. xxvii. 1, 2, 11—32. The scene of this trial was the *prætorium*, into which the Jews refused to enter⁵ because of the feast, lest they should be defiled. It is most probable that the *prætorium* was a portion of the castle of Antonia,⁶ which was situated at the north-west extremity of the temple mount, and was occupied by Roman troops, and also included the *παρεμβολή* to which Paul was carried when taken prisoner, overlooking the temple and all that went on there.⁷ Our view of the site of the *prætorium* may be confirmed by the following considerations. It is evidently in an open place in *front* of this *prætorium* (for John says expressly⁸

watches; for we see that Peter, when in prison, was given in charge to four quaternions of soldiers, who relieved one another at the end of each watch. The expositors on this passage may be referred to, and, on the subject generally, Winer, *R. W. B. Art.* "Nachtwachen."

¹ Mar. xiii. 35, vi. 48; Matt. xiv. 25; Jos. *Ant.* v. 6. 5.

² Matt. xxvii. 1; Mar. xv. 1; Joh. xviii. 28.

³ Mar. xiii. 35.

⁴ Cf. Joh. xviii. 31; xix. 19, 20; and Lücke, *l. c.*

⁵ Joh. xviii. 28.

⁶ See Räumler, *Paläst.* p. 260. For other views as to the position of the *Prætorium*, see Winer, *R. W. B. Art.* "Richtthaus."

⁷ Acts xxi. 37, xxiii. 10; Jos. *de Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 8.

⁸ Joh. xix. 13.

ἤγαγεν ἔξω (i.e. out of the *prætorium*) τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκάθισεν, κ.τ.λ.) that we must look for the *λιθόστρωτον*,¹ "called in Hebrew Gabbatha;" and the fact is that Josephus does really mention a *λιθόστρωτον* just between the castle of Antonia and the western angle of the inner temple.² Nay, the very rock on which the castle was built was covered, both for ornament and protection, from its foundation upwards with smooth slabs of stone (*πλαξὶ κεκάλυπτο λείαις λίθων*).³ We now see the reason why the place was called in the Hebrew *גאבבאθא*, *גהבא* from the Hebrew *גב*, (the back). For it was the back, the surface of the temple mount. It was here, within sight of the temple and the crowd of Jews who were speedily about to keep the feast in the temple, that Pilate after long delay ascended the judgment-seat, *βῆμα*,⁴ to pronounce sentence of death on Jesus Whom he himself considered guiltless.

The time when this occurred is fixed by John, *ὥρα ἦν ὥσεὶ ἕκτη*. This is the only note of time for the trial before Pilate with the exception of that of its commencement.⁵ It is therefore of great value to us. And yet it appears directly to contradict Mar. xv. 25, which places our Lord's crucifixion at the *third* hour. The difficulty arising from a comparison of the two passages was felt in the earliest times, and it gave rise to the various readings of Codd. D. L. 72, 88, 123, *ὥς* or *ὥσεὶ τρίτη*, instead of *ἕκτη*. Modern expositors have recognized the discrepancy and decided in favour of John: imagining that in so doing they were but giving up Mark for the Gospel of an actual Apostle. But if we examine the matter more accurately we can hardly be satisfied with the correctness of this conclusion. Mark's account is so closely interwoven with

¹ For the different opinions on this *λιθόστρωτον*, see Winer, *R. W. B.* Art. "Lithostroton."

² *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 1. 8. and 3. 2.

³ *Ib.* v. 5. 8.

⁴ The "judgment-seat," *βῆμα*, of the Roman officials in the provinces was a "portatile," and in the present instance was set upon the *λιθόστρωτον*: for, according to the Roman custom, it was not allowable to pronounce judgment "de plano." See, for the case of the Governor Florus, Joseph. *de Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 8, *βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν (τῶν βασιλείων) θέμενος καθέζεται*.

⁵ Mar. xv. 1, Matt. xxvii. 1, Joh. xviii. 28.

those of the other two Synoptists that their credibility also stands or falls with his. The same note of time, *πρωτα*, is given both by Matthew xxvii. 1 and Mark xv. 1 for the beginning of the trial. Then again, in the account of the crucifixion, all three Synoptists narrate substantially the same events, and sometimes in the very same words.¹ At the same point of their narrative all three mention the same "great darkness,"² and at the same time "from the sixth to the ninth hour," and also place the death of Jesus at the same hour, the ninth. And even if in support of John's account we assume in opposition to Mar. xv. 25 that this darkness, which lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, had already begun with the beginning of the crucifixion, we should still be as far as ever from having produced harmony between John and the Synoptists. For if, as John asserts, it was not till about the sixth hour that Jesus was condemned, far too much time would be required for what succeeded, the scourging and mocking of our Lord, the various preparations for His crucifixion, and the tedious procession to Golgotha which lay outside the city, to allow Jesus, even if we interpret the Synoptists in this sense, to have been nailed to the cross by the sixth hour. If, then, we take for granted that their mode of reckoning time is identical, it follows that John's statement, xix. 14, is irreconcilable not merely with Mark, but also with both the other Synoptists.

If we assume that the statements are irreconcilable, John's narrative has against it not merely the weight of testimony, which might be merely accidental, but also internal probability. Considering the haste with which our Lord's trial was conducted, and that, as all the Evangelists agree, He was brought to Pilate very early in the morning, it is scarcely conceivable that Pilate should not have pronounced sentence of death until noon, which would correspond with the sixth hour of the Synoptical reckoning. This argument has been specially developed by Rettig³ and De Wette *in loc.* To this we must add that since, as we have seen, John also agrees in placing

¹ See Matt. xxvii. 32—44, Mar. xv. 21—32, Lu. xxiii. 26—43.

² Matt. xxvii. 45, Mar. xv. 33, Lu. xxiii. 44.

³ *Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, No. 1, p. 101.

our Lord's death on the 15th of Nisan, the most unsuitable hour possible would have been selected for passing sentence, since the sacred festal season would have commenced three hours before—at the time of the morning sacrifice—and with it the time of the Chagigah. Besides, it is inconceivable that the Apostle John, the eye-witness, who stood beneath the cross of the Redeemer in deepest sorrow,¹ could have forgotten, or given an erroneous statement of the ever-memorable hour of His public condemnation. Now, since the reading *ἔκτῃ* stands critically unassailable, we are driven to assume that John has here reckoned his hours from another initial point from that adopted by the Synoptists. This mode of reconciliation has long since been attempted, but the narrative is not equally favourable to all the different attempts.

The hypothesis of Rettig, who has been followed by Olshausen, Meyer, Tholuck, etc., that John intended Roman hours, which were calculated exactly as with us from midnight to midnight, so that the sixth hour corresponded to our 6 o'clock A.M., appears probable enough. Indeed, if we adopt it, all discrepancy between John and the Synoptists is at once removed. For if we suppose that Jesus was condemned at 6 o'clock A.M., plenty of time is left for the scourging and mocking, the various preparations for the Crucifixion, the tedious procession to Golgotha beyond the walls of the city, and He might, as Mark records, have been really crucified at Golgotha at 9 A.M. I am, however, of opinion that this hypothesis has not yet received a perfectly satisfactory demonstration.

Rettig appeals in support of his view to Aulus Gellius² and Pliny,³ by whom it is certainly stated that the Romans calculated their day from midnight to midnight. Censorinus⁴ says the same when comparing the Roman mode of calculating the day with that of other nations.

¹ Joh. xix. 26.

² *Noct. Att.* iii. 2.

³ *Nat. Hist.* ii. 79.

⁴ *De die Natali*, c. 23. "Hujusmodi dies" (i.e. "dies civilis," according to Censorinus' definition, "tempus quod fit uno cœli circumactu, quo dies verus et nox continetur, ut cum dicimus aliquem dies triginta tantum vixisse; relinquitur enim etiam noctes intelligere.") "ab astrologis, et civitatibus quatuor modis definitur. Baby-

This does not however prove, on which everything here depends, that the Romans also calculated their *hours* constantly, or even generally, from midnight. Nay, the very reverse is the case. The passages quoted by Hug¹ from Cicero² to establish his view that this mode of calculating the hours was regularly adopted in the Roman Forum, so far as I can see prove the exact contrary. The same may be said of the passage from Josephus,³ a passage which, indeed, is an additional proof of the custom already discussed⁴ by us of the Jews having held public assemblies even on the sabbath. Certainly no difficulty would be caused by the assumption that John employed the Roman mode of reckoning. Even the Jews had at that time adopted in civil life the Roman division of the night into four watches, which, as it appears, had an internal connection with it. And Pliny appears to indicate widespread adoption of the Roman day, when, following an *usus loquendi* at variance with that of Censorinus,⁵ he

lonii quidem a solis exortu ad exortum ejusdem astri diem statuerunt. At in Umbria plerique a meridie ad meridiem. Athenienses autem," and so also the Jews "ab occasu solis ad occasum. Cæterum Romani a mediâ nocte ad mediam noctem diem esse existimaverunt." Other authorities are given in Ideler, *Hdbch.* I. 80.

¹ "Critical and Exegetical Remarks on the History of our Lord's Passion and Death" in the *Freiburg. Zeitschrift*, No. 5, p. 91.

² *Orat. in Verr.* VII. c. 17. 37, 38, *Epist. ad Divers.* VII. 30, IX. 26, IV. 12.

³ *Vita*, c. 54.

⁴ p. 349. Josephus relates (*Vita*, c. 53 *ad fin.*) that being at that time governor in Tiberias he was insidiously requested to leave the town, because the next day was the sabbath, διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν εἶναι σάββατον. Josephus, trusting to the oaths taken, goes (c. 54) to Tarichea. The next day, as is expressly recorded, κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν, and therefore, on the sabbath, the whole population gather together in the προσευχή, because that would contain the largest numbers, and several demagogues harangued the people to excite them against Josephus. They, however, refused to believe them, and a tumult would have been raised, as Josephus adds, εἰ μὴ τὴν σύνοδον διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα ἑκτὴ ὥρα, καθ' ἣν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι νόμιμον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν. The context therefore makes it plain that the sixth hour is not to be understood of the commencement of the sabbath, 6 p.m., but of our mid-day. The reckoning is, in fact, very usually from the rising of the sun.

⁵ "Ipsam diem alii aliter observavere: Babylonii inter duos solis exortus; Athenienses inter duos occasus; Umbri a meridie in meri-

speaks of the "civil day" simply, which, considering the dominion then exercised by the Romans over the *orbis terrarum*, is natural enough. It may of course be inferred from Joh. i. 40, that the Evangelist used the Roman mode of reckoning, but it does not necessarily follow from this passage that, as Rettig asserts, he calculated his hours from midnight. Rettig's argument is as follows:—"The words, Joh. i. 39, 'And they abode with Him that day,' must, from the context, indicate more than one or two hours. Now, if we fix the time of the arrival of the two disciples, ὥρα δεκάτη, according to the Jewish mode, it answers about to our 4 o'clock P.M. The Jewish day ended at 6 P.M. The tenth hour must therefore have been 10 A.M."¹ But nothing necessarily follows from this but that by ἡμέρα we are not to understand the Jewish but the Roman, or as Pliny says, the civil day, which did not terminate till 12 o'clock at night. The chronologer, Ideler, whose opinion on such subjects demands the utmost respect, remarks, bringing a crowd of passages in proof:—"The case was entirely different as regards the hours with ourselves and the ancients. However much the Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans differed from one another in the commencement of the civil day, they all reckoned their hours in the same manner. They divided the natural day² as well as the night into twelve hours all

diem; vulgus omne a luce ad tenebras; sacerdotes Romani et qui diem definire civilem, item Ægyptii et Hipparchus a media nocte in mediam."

¹ Rettig also understands the ὥρα ἕκτη of Joh. iv. 6 of 6 a.m. Indeed, he interprets all St. John's calculations of hours, including of course iv. 52, in a similar manner. He does not, however, lay any great weight on the context in the first-quoted passage.

² By the expression "*natural day*," as opposed to the *artificial* or, as Censorinus says, the *civil* day, including both day and night, we understand the time from the rising to the setting of the sun; or, in Pliny's words, "vulgus omne a luce ad tenebras." Since the length of the day and night are constantly varying, it is plain that the twelve parts or hours into which both are divided were continually varying also. The length of the variable hours of the day and night must therefore have been separately calculated for every degree of latitude, and every day of the year. At the time of the equinoxes, and therefore at the time of the Passover, the sixth hour would correspond nearly to our 12 noon. It is the natural day that is intended Joh. xi. 9, for the artificial day had always twenty-four hours.

through the year, reckoned from the rising of the sun to its setting, and again from its setting to its rising, so that mid-day corresponded with the beginning of the seventh hour of the day, and midnight with that of the seventh hour of the night." There is no doubt that the fact that even those nations who commenced their civil day at midnight reckoned their hours by the rising and setting of the sun, is connected with the imperfection of the measures of time then in use, which for a long period could only have been employed for the determination of the variable hours, the *ὥραι καιρικάι*, which were fixed by the length of the natural day, or the time from sunrise to sunset, and also by the circumstance that various expedients were adopted to supply the deficiencies of those measures, the whole of which, however, were calculated by the length of the natural day. The use of hours of variable length was not generally laid aside until the invention of mechanical clocks, in the 12th century. Some time, however, before the birth of our Lord hours corresponding to the twenty-fourth part of the civil day became generally known. It was only at the time of the equinoxes (and therefore at the 15th of Nisan), that those hours exactly corresponded with the variable hours. And therefore at that time the hours of the civil day could be counted from midnight, without interfering with the methods usually adopted for measuring time. This is what John must have done in the passage in question. And he did so all the more readily as the feast he was about to speak of, viz. the 15th of Nisan, as distinguished from the Passover of the preceding evening, began in obedience to Ex. xii. 29, exactly at midnight. It was then, at midnight, that the flesh of the Paschal lamb became *לחם*.¹ Other historical reasons may have existed with which we are at any rate unacquainted. That the hours are reckoned in this way by John will be plain to every reader of his Gospel, if not from his acquaintance with the Evangelical narrative, yet from the relation the fact therein stated bears to the celebration of the festival then kept, the 15th of Nisan. The case is the same with the expression *ἡμέρα*, Joh. i. 40,

¹ Tract *פסחים*, ch. 10, § 9.

xi. 9, as with *ῥα* in this passage. There the Roman, here the natural day is intended, but this is only to be seen from the context.

The sending of Jesus to Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee forms a short break in the trial before Pilate.¹

Early in the morning, after having seen his Master condemned by the Sanhedrim, Judas Iscariot puts an end to his life.²

(3) Our Lord's crucifixion and death at Golgotha.

Joh. xix. 17—30. Mar. xv. 21—41. Matt. xxvii. 32—56. Lu. xxiii. 26—49. The place of execution named Golgotha (*i.e.* *κρανίον* = *κράνιον*, "a skull,"³ and thence "the place of a skull" *κρανίου τόπος*), certainly lay outside⁴ the gate of Jerusalem, near the city,⁵ by the roadside.⁶ The progress to it, however, as is always the case at executions, must have been slow, especially as our Lord, like all condemned to crucifixion, had to carry His own cross,⁷ which so overpowered Him in His exhausted state that Simon of Cyrene was obliged to carry it for Him.⁸ Our Lord hung on the cross six hours before His death, from the third⁹ to the ninth hour,¹⁰ *i.e.* from 9 A.M. to 3 P.M.

(4) Our Lord's burial.

This took place before the beginning of the sabbath at 6 P.M.,¹¹ in a garden hard by,¹² belonging to Joseph of Arimathea.¹³

¹ Lu. xxiii. 4—12.

² Matt. xxvii. 3—10, Acts i. 16—20.

³ Lu. xxiii. 33.

⁴ Ἐξῆλθεν, Joh. xix. 17; *ἐξερχόμενον*, Matt. xxvii. 32; *ἐλμωνα—ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ*, Mar. xv. 21, Lu. xxiii. 26.

⁵ Joh. xix. 20.

⁶ *Οἱ παραπορευόμενοι*, Mar. xv. 24, Matt. xxvii. 39. Tradition still points out "Mount Calvary" to the N.W. of the ancient city. Raumer, *Paläst.* p. 261.

⁷ Joh. xix. 17.

⁸ Lu. xxiii. 26, Mar. xv. 21, Matt. xxvii. 32.

⁹ Mar. xv. 25.

¹⁰ Mar. xv. 33, Matt. xxvii. 45, Lu. xxiii. 44.

¹¹ Lu. xxiii. 54, Matt. xxvii. 57, Mar. xv. 42.

¹² Joh. xix. 42.

¹³ Joh. xix. 31—42, Mar. xv. 42—47, Lu. xxiii. 50—56, Matt. xxvii. 57—61.

SECTION VI.

FROM OUR LORD'S BURIAL ON THE 15TH OF NISAN = 7TH APRIL,
TO HIS ASCENSION.

IN this section, for which we must refer to John xx. xxi.; Mar. xvi. 1—8, 9—20; Lu. xxiii. 56, xxiv. 53;¹ Matt. xxvii. 62, xxviii. 20, we have two periods, the *first* while Jesus lay in the grave, the *second* at the beginning of which He rose from the dead, and at its close ascended into heaven.

CHAPTER I.

OUR LORD IN THE GRAVE.

AFTER our Lord's burial, between 3 and 6 p.m. on Friday afternoon, He reposed in the grave the remainder of Friday, and the whole of Saturday, the 16th of Nisan, that He might rise again at the beginning of the first day of the week, the 17th of Nisan.² He rose, therefore, as He Himself had promised, on the third day,³ though He had not lain in the grave forty hours in all.⁴

During the sabbath, *i.e.* from the evening of the 15th to the evening of the 16th of Nisan, the disciples rested according to the commandment of Moses.⁵ The members

¹ Cf. Acts i. 1—12.

² Joh. xx. 1, Lu. xxiv. 1, Mar. xvi. 2, Matt. xxviii. 1.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 4.

⁴ The disciples might learn the time of our Lord's resurrection, partly from the watch, partly (and that the most certainly) from Himself.

⁵ Luke xxiii. 56

of the Sanhedrim alone assembled before the Roman governor to demand a watch for the grave of Jesus.¹ The note of time in v. 62, τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἡγίας ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν is remarkable. It is true the context shews plainly that Saturday is intended, and indeed the words can mean nothing else; for the day after the παρασκευὴ² = Friday, can only be Saturday. Still the singularity remains that we have here the more important designated by the less important, the Sabbath by the Paraskeue, while on the other hand, that day is elsewhere rightly enough named by its relation to the sabbath, and called προσάββατον. Why is it that we do not find here the more simple expression ἡγίας ἐστὶ σάββατον instead of ἡγίας ἐστὶ μετὰ τ. παρασκ.? Most expositors pass over the clause I am of opinion that the reason why the word σάββατον was avoided was that in this case it was possible it might be misunderstood, since the preceding day, the 15th of Nisan, might also be called a sabbath in accordance with Lev. xxiii. 11—15. When we see that Matthew found it necessary to use such an expression, we discover in it an additional proof that he too represents our Lord's crucifixion as having taken place on the 15th of Nisan.

When the sabbath was past (διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου), after 6 o'clock in the evening of the 16th of Nisan, the women brought spices to anoint the body of Jesus.³ We can at once reconcile this passage with Lu. xxiii. 56 (cf. xxiv. 1), by the assumption, probable enough of itself, that the women had not been able to complete their purchases on the evening of the 15th, before the commencement of the sabbath. Two of the number, Mary Magdalene and Μαρία Ἰωσήφ, could hardly have been able to attend to their purchase that evening, since they had been present at our Lord's burial.⁴

¹ Matt. xxvii. 62—66.

² The word παρασκευὴ in this passage was one of Schneckenburger's grounds for assuming the existence of a special festival during the Jewish Passover under the name of παρασκευὴ, see pp. 327, 328.

³ Mar. xvi. 1.

⁴ Mar. xv. 47, Matt. xxvii. 61.

CHAPTER II.

OUR LORD'S RESURRECTION—HIS APPEARANCE DURING
FORTY DAYS—HIS ASCENSION.

JOH. xx. xxi. Mar. xvi. 2—8, 9—20. Matt. xxviii. 1—20. Lu. xxiv. 1—53. Acts i. 1—12.

In the examination of this portion I take for granted, in common with the majority of modern critics, that Mar. xvi. 9—20, Joh. xxi. are later additions, not proceeding from the Evangelists themselves.¹ I am, however, as far as possible from deeming them on that account untrustworthy; while, on the other hand, if this view should prove incorrect, our investigation would require very slight alteration.

We have the most decisive evidence of the reality of our Lord's resurrection in the nature of His appearances after His death. Those who deny the reality of the resurrection, have therefore endeavoured to make these pass for mere visions, creations of the imagination. They say that the report, which we can well believe was spread by the Pharisees,² that our Lord's body had been stolen from the grave (by whom?), was the origin, first, of the conjecture, and then, of the belief, that He had risen from the dead. This belief, however, was so powerful, that those who entertained it, by a happy effort of imagination, while wide awake, saw Christ, who was really mouldering in the earth, near them and about them, while in consequence of it the faint-hearted became courageous, and the mourners glad and open preachers of the Gospel. On such an illusory belief as this, they imagine, the Church of Christ was founded, and on this those multi-

¹ This view has been supported by me in a dissertation, in which I have also specified the literature of the passage, entitled, *Indagatur num loci Mar. xvi. 9—20, et Joh. xxi.; genuini sint, necne, eo fine ut aditus ad historiam Jesus Christi ex mortuis rediivi ritè conscribendam inveniat, 1839*. The conclusion with regard to Joh. xxi. is, that it was appended, after the Apostle's death, by an eye-witness of the evangelical history, and, in my opinion, by John the Presbyter, who outlived him.

² Matt. xxviii. 13.

tudes of martyrs, who sealed their testimony with their blood, reposed, when in death they renounced themselves and the world. Strange, most strange! Nor less strange when we read the accounts in the Gospels themselves. Is it at all in unison with the nature of subjective visions for the same form to appear repeatedly; for it to be seen by eleven men and upwards at once, nay, as St. Paul asserts,¹ by above five hundred brethren, of whom the greater part were still alive when he wrote? Or are illusions of the fancy woven of such coarse materials as to have flesh and bones, wounds, and nail-prints, to take food like us, to eat and drink? Was not even a Thomas compelled to grant that His Master was there in bodily presence, when he was able to handle the beloved Form with his own hands, and put his fingers into the wounds and prints of the nails? But, it is objected, the narratives in the Gospels contradict one another, and especially the details of time and place prove their unhistorical character, their mythical origin. And yet if we can shew that even *one* single fact of the above kind can be proved incontrovertibly, our opponents' objections will fall entirely to the ground. Let us then examine them a little more closely.

But before we proceed to the accounts given in the Gospels, we must examine one main testimony borne to the appearances of Jesus after His death, I mean that of the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 4—8. The Epistles to the Corinthians have been on all hands, even down to the most modern times, acknowledged as the genuine writings of St. Paul, and no one has ever maintained, still less proved, that this passage has been interpolated. Critics, however, are found to maintain that Paul himself by those appearances meant nothing but visions: a view which no exegetist has as yet taken the trouble to refute. It is strange that while these writers have lacked the courage to deny the genuineness of the Epistles to the Corinthians, as they have done on similar grounds with the Gospels, they could yet imagine that a man like St. Paul could have had such incorrect information about the closing days of our Lord's life on earth.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 6.

We, on the contrary, shall proceed at once to enquire what are the appearances recorded in this passage and in what order they stand. We read, *vv.* 3—9, "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again according to the Scriptures, and that He was seen of Cephas (Peter), then of the Twelve: after that He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that He was seen of James, then of all the Apostles, and last of all (the Apostles) He was seen of me also, as of the one (of them) born out of due time. For I am the least of the Apostles." We will preface our enquiry with two remarks. *First.* By the words ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν, we see from St. Paul's *usus loquendi*, the peculiar object of the Epistle, and the context, that none but Apostles in the strictest sense can be meant. *Secondly.* The "James" who is here named simply, together with those Apostles, can have been no other than the Apostle of that name, the well-known James the son of Alphæus.¹ The following six appearances are therefore mentioned by St. Paul. Two to the Twelve; one to Peter; one to James the son of Alphæus; one to the five hundred; and lastly to himself. We cannot, however, conclude from this, that if to do so would have been in accordance with his object, he could not have mentioned other appearances also.

We have next to enquire whether it was St. Paul's intention to give the appearances in chronological order. The words *εἰτα* and *ἐπειτα* which he employs can be understood either as denoting the order of time, or as simply introducing each particular instance. The latter view is in my opinion the correct one, even irrespective of the comparison between this passage and the accounts in the Gospels. For since it is St. Paul's object to maintain the reality of our Lord's resurrection, as he had already done in his public teaching at Corinth, it could be of no importance to narrate the appearances of the risen Lord in

¹ I have developed my views on this passage, as given above, more fully in a treatise, *Ueber die Brüder des Herren in ihrem Unterschiede von den Söhnen Alphäi*, Stud. u. Krit. 1842, p. 96.

chronological succession, but simply to bring into prominence the truth of the several instances in which He appeared, and especially of those which he thought the most suitable as proofs. If, then, the chronological element were pressed, the instructive tendency of his words would unduly fall into the background. Besides, if he had considered the chronological point of view of primary importance, he would have indicated it by appending to the introductory clause, ὥφθη Κηφᾶ, some such words as πρώτῳ or ἐν ἀρχῇ; while he really asserts no more than that Christ did appear to Peter, but leaves the time quite undefined. In conclusion, the ἐσχατον δὲ πάντων, v. 8, can hardly be appealed to. The word πάντων points to the ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν that immediately precedes. And, as we see from the context, St. Paul is only informing the Corinthians how the appearance vouchsafed to himself stood in order of time to those vouchsafed to the other Apostles, not how it stood in regard to all the before-mentioned appearances. He has also a special reason for remarking with regard to the time, that it was "the last" with reference to all the Apostolical appearances. The same, indeed, which leads him immediately afterwards to call himself "the least of the Apostles." We may, then, conclude that in this passage St. Paul records several appearances of our Lord after His death, but not the temporal relation in which they stand to one another. To determine this we must not depend on Paul, but on the narrative furnished by the Evangelists. Nor can any charge of discrepancy be urged, if we find the several appearances of Christ arranged differently in the Evangelical accounts.

But what is the state of the case as regards the harmony of the Evangelical accounts within their own province?

It certainly cannot be denied that the Gospels in general must here be generally divided into two classes; the one referring to or narrating appearances of Jesus in Galilee,¹ the other detailing appearances of Jesus in Judea.²

¹ Matt. xxviii. 16—20, 7, 10, cf. xxvi. 32, Mar. xvi. 7, cf. xiv. 28.

² Lu. xxiv. 13—53, Joh. xx.

Nothing more, however, can be inferred from this than that, as everybody has long since known, each Evangelist furnishes us with no more than a selection from the many facts in our Lord's life to suit the idiosyncrasy of his Gospel. Nor can we conclude anything more than that Jesus appeared both in Judea and in Galilee. Besides, the first two Evangelists record by preference the events in Galilee, John those in Judea. Luke, who usually occupies a kind of central position, was unable to pass over the last appearances of our Lord in Judea, inasmuch as it was his purpose to write the Acts of the Apostles, and it was necessary that the one should fit in immediately to the other. Even in the present section, however, this harmony between the Gospels themselves is indicated. For while Matthew records only one appearance in Galilee, xxviii. 16—20, he also narrates one in Judea, *ev.* 9, 10. While on the other hand, the 21st chapter, appended to the Gospel of St. John by an eye-witness, treats again of an appearance in Galilee. And in the ancient supplement to Mark's Gospel, xvi. 9—20, we find several appearances in Judea. But on the other hand, if a real contradiction is to be proved, the several appearances must by their data mutually exclude one another, in such a way that if the one is true the other must be false, and conversely.

A contradiction of this kind has, it is thought, been drawn from Luke's Gospel. It is stated expressly, Lu. xxiv. 49, that the Apostles were to tarry in the city of Jerusalem, until they were endued with power from on high. This did not take place till the gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. The disciples would not, therefore, according to Luke's account, have left Jerusalem before that time: while this is positively contradicted by the fact that according to the other two Synoptists, Jesus appeared to them in Galilee.

Now, even if Luke had really said what he is represented to have said, it would be possible that he alone was in error, and that only in this single point. But has he really said this? I think not.

It is a generally acknowledged law of interpretation that an author is his own best interpreter, and that obscure and ambiguous passages are to be interpreted and

understood by those that are clear and plain, if such there be.

In the present case, the question turns on the time when, according to his own shewing, the words recorded, Lu. xxiv. 49, were spoken. If they were not spoken till after our Lord's appearances in Galilee, they would, instead of contradicting, harmonize most admirably with the Synoptists and the opening events of the Acts. Its place is between two notes of time, divided by a considerable interval, the evening of the 17th of Nisan, or the first Sunday after our Lord's death¹ and the day of His ascension, vv. 50—53,² which happened forty days afterwards.³ The question therefore arises, whether these words are represented as having been spoken on the same day with those recorded Lu. xxiv. 36—43, or those vv. 50—53. The first case is the only one in which Luke would be at variance with the other Synoptists. If there is any one who still entertains any doubts, we would remind him of the general rule of interpretation given above, and consult Acts i. 4, 5, where Luke, after having expressly referred to his Gospel at the beginning of the chapter, represents Jesus as warning His disciples, *on the day of His ascension*, not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father which they had heard⁴ from Him. "For

¹ Lu. xxiv. 36—43, cf. vv. 1, 13, 21—24, 33.

² We can have no reasonable ground for doubting that the day of our Lord's ascension is intended in Lu. xxiv. 50—53, as well from the tenor and import of the passage, as from the express statement in Acts i. 1, 2, except on the hypothesis that the author of the Acts was not the same with the author of the Gospel. This is a point, however, to which criticism has not yet arrived in its destructive progress. Nor indeed will the evident connection between Acts i. 1 and Lu. i. 1—4 permit it. However, it is compatible with this that some critics have assigned a very late date for the composition of the Acts, without expressly asserting it of the Gospel also.

³ Acts i. 3.

⁴ Our Lord had often spoken to His disciples of the sending of the Holy Ghost, and especially the night before His passion and death, see Joh. xiv. 16—20, xv. 26, 27, and compare *ἐτι μικρόν*, xiv. 19, with *οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας*, Acts i. 5. De Wette and Meyer are in error in taking our Lord's words, introduced by *ἔτι*, Acts i. 5, as if He had already spoken them at an earlier period, Lu. xxiv. 49. Meyer says "the indirect construction changes into the direct as the narrative becomes more vivid." Our view does not require any such solution.

John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." It is therefore decided by Luke himself, when recapitulating the close of his Gospel, that what is recorded xxiv. 44—49, occurred on the same day as that recorded vv. 50—53. And it follows that there is not the smallest discrepancy between Luke and the two other Synoptists in their narrative of the last appearances of our Lord.¹

Every appearance of contradiction, however, would vanish if the several fragmentary portions of the narrative, given by the different Evangelists with the most evident independence of one another, were capable of being arranged in one uniform historical whole, proceeding regularly, and free from discrepancy; we will endeavour to effect this with reference to persons, time, and place, referring at the same time to the parallel passage, 1 Cor. xv. 4—8. We see from what has been already said, that the best way of arranging our Lord's appearances after His resurrection is according to the localities in which they took place. Judea—Galilee—and once again in Judea.

1. *Our Lord's appearances in Judea.*

Our Lord's first appearances were to His disciples in Judea, in and about Jerusalem, where He had left them for His crucifixion, and where they were still gathered together for the Feast of the Passover.

Of the appearances in Judea the first was to the women who came very early in the morning to the tomb to anoint the body of Jesus.² This was on the first day of the week, on a Sunday,³ the third day after His death, i.e. the

Besides, *συνελθόντες*, v. 6, evidently refers to *συναλίζόμενος*, v. 4. This last meeting of our Lord with His disciples took place, therefore, on the day of His ascension.

¹ Another reason for believing such a contradiction inconceivable exists for those who believe that St. Luke was acquainted with St. Mark's Gospel.

² Joh. xx. 1—18, Lu. xxiv. 1—12, Mar. xiv. 2—8, Matt. xxviii. 1—10, cf. Mar. xvi. 9—11.

³ *τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων*, Lu. xxiv. 1, Mar. xvi. 2, Joh. xx. 1. Some difficulty is involved in the expression *ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ* *εἰς μίαν σαββάτων*, Matt. xxviii. 1. The first *σαββάτων* can of itself, as

17th of Nisan = April 9th, 30 A.D. Now if we first look at the Synoptists by themselves, they appear, though agreeing in placing the resurrection of Jesus on that day, directly to contradict one another; for while Luke and Mark (Mar. xvi. 9—11 being a later addition) say that our Lord did not shew Himself to the women, Matthew, on the other hand, represents Him as appearing to them.¹ And yet the additional paragraph in Mark at once gives us a hint that we must assume a double visit of the women to the grave, an earlier one in which Jesus did not appear, and a later one in which He did. Now if we compare John's Gospel we shall find this hypothesis fully confirmed. For he expressly states that Mary Magdalene went twice to the tomb. The first time she sees only the empty grave, and does not see the Lord, Joh. xx. 1, 2. But when she returns the second time, she beholds the Lord Himself, *vv.* 11—18. The general correspondence between Joh. xx. 1—11 and the narrative Lu. xxiv. 1—11 is so complete in all essential particulars that there can be no doubt as to their identity. For as we find in Luke² that Mary Magdalene went to the grave accompanied by several women, it is evident from the words of Mary,³ "We know not where they have laid Him"—and that quite incidentally⁴—that John was well aware of the fact, that Mary had not gone thither alone. Again, John represents the women informing the disciples of what they had

is well known, bear two meanings, (1) the seventh day of the week, or (2) the week itself. In this context it is with perfect correctness understood in the sense of "week," especially as it undoubtedly occurs immediately afterwards in this sense. 'Οψὲ (see Passow, *Lexic.*) σαββ. therefore means "towards the close of the week." 'Επιφώσκειν (derived from φῶς, "light") used for either evening, or, as in our passage, morning twilight. With ἐπιφωσκούση we must supply either φυλακῇ ("watch of the night") or ὥρα. If the latter, we must render it "in the twilight of Sunday morning." It is perfectly clear that it cannot signify Saturday evening, since Matthew again and again takes for granted that our Lord rose on the *third* day.

¹ Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.

² Lu. xxiv. 9.

³ Joh. xx. 2.

⁴ A very striking proof that it was not the purpose of the Evangelists to record even those events which they admitted into their Gospels, in all the minute details of circumstances and persons with which they were familiar.

seen,¹ and so also does Luke.² And once more we read in Luke³ that Peter, in consequence of what He had heard, runs to the grave, but does not see the Lord; the same fact is recorded in John, save that as an eye-witness he gives a more detailed narrative.⁴ In John we read, "Peter and that other disciple," and we see, from Luke xxiv. 24, that Luke was also aware that Peter did not visit the sepulchre alone. In conclusion, Matt. xxviii. 9 corresponds to Joh. xx. 11—18.⁵ According to Matthew, ch. xxviii. 9, cf. v. 1, Jesus did not appear to Mary Magdalene alone, but also to another Mary.⁶ And if John mentions Mary

¹ Joh. xx. 2.² Lu. xxiv. 10.³ Lu. xxiv. 12.⁴ Joh. x. 3—10.⁵ Cf. Mar. xvi. 9—11.

⁶ Who was this other Mary? The Fathers thought Mary the mother of our Lord, which is impossible; for had it been so, Mary Magdalene could not have been spoken of as the chief person. In the present day she is commonly believed to have been Mary the wife of Cleopas or Alphæus, Joh. xix. 25, the mother of the Apostle "James the son of Alphæus and Joses," Matt. xxvii. 56, Mar. xv. 40. The reason alleged being, that in the parallel passages, Mar. xvi. 1, Lu. xxiv. 10, a certain *Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου* is mentioned who certainly can scarcely be deemed to be any other than Mary the mother of James the son of Alphæus. We have, however, seen that in this place Matthew does not furnish us with any actual parallel to the two other Synoptists. Besides, even on the first visit to the grave, more women were present, as we learn from Mark xvi. 1, and particularly from Luke xxiv. 10. It follows, therefore, that the argument derived from the parallels adduced cannot in any way be deemed decisive. The "other Mary" is mentioned once again by St. Matthew, ch. xxvii. 61. All depends on the presence or absence of the article. If the article is genuine, some Mary already mentioned must be intended, and this can only be Mary the mother of James the son of Alphæus (Matt. xxvii. 56), and yet the very passage referred to may have led to the interpolation of the article, which indeed we find omitted in certain MSS. *e.g.* A. D. But if the article is wanting, *ἄλλη Μαρία* must be conceived of as one unknown to the readers; and at any rate cannot have been mentioned in the passage immediately preceding, and cannot therefore be the Mary introduced in the second place, Matt. xxvii. 56. If we could regard Mar. xv. 47 as an exact parallel to Matt. xxvii. 61, we should have a more decisive conclusion. For in Mark, instead of the *ἄλλη Μαρία* of Matthew, we have either with B., M. *ἡ Ἰωσήτος*, or with A., M. *ἡ Ἰωσήφ*. For the various readings given by Schulz, *Ἰακώβου*, or "*Jacobi et Josephi*" (which originates from the reading *ἡ Ἰωσήφ*) or *Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσήτος μητέρα* (pointing to the reading *Ἰωσήτος*) immediately betray themselves as emendations made with reference to Mar. xv. 40 and xvi. 1. Now the reading of Cod. B., *ἡ Ἰωσήτος* is considered by some the correct one, and

Magdalene only, this is just as far from establishing any contradiction as when he speaks of her alone in *vv.* 1, 2,

consequently they identify the Mary here mentioned with the mother of *Joses*, as well as with the Mary called the mother *Ἰακώβου τ. μικρ. καὶ Ἰωσήτος*. And yet it would be very surprising that this Mary should be called the mother of *Joses*, and not, as is the case, *Mar.* xvi. 1, *Lu.* xxiv. 9, of the far better-known Apostle James, who on the very account takes the precedence, *Matt.* xxvii. 56, *Mar.* xv. 40. It is still more surprising that in the very next verse, *Mar.* xvi. 1, the mother of the Apostle James appears again as *Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου*. Must we not, then, consider these two Marys to have been two different persons? We must certainly conclude that even if we are to read with B., *ἡ Ἰωσήτος*, a different Mary is to be understood from Mary the mother of James the son of Alphaeus. There can, however, be scarcely the least doubt that the true reading is *ἡ Ἰωσήφ*, which has been altered into *ἡ Ἰωσήτος* by the same mistaken endeavour after identification which has given rise to so many various readings in this passage. And if this be so, an entirely different Mary is intended; which was unquestionably the opinion of those who originated the additional clause found in some *Codd.* καὶ Μαρία Ἰακώβου. The signification of the genitive *Ἰωσήφ* is, however, of itself very wide. Who is this "Joseph's Mary"? To determine this, we must first know who this Joseph is. If we could identify him with the father of our Lord, "Mary, Joseph's wife," would be our Lord's mother. If this were the case, we should necessarily have to bring the parallel passage in Matthew into harmony with it—which would require the article before ἄλλη Μαρία, contrary to what has been said above—and we should have to suppose that his object was to introduce a very well-known Mary, "Mary Magdalene, and the other well-known Mary." Certainly a little strange. In support of this view it may be specially urged that the mother of Jesus, who naturally occupies so important a place at the crucifixion, *Joh.* xix. 25—27, would not otherwise appear at all in the history of His burial and resurrection. But we must remember that the Synoptists do not mention her at all at the crucifixion, and if we imagine that she is obscurely alluded to in the passages in Matthew and Mark, she would be retiring into the background, more than was right, even according to the spirit of these Evangelists, as compared with Mary Magdalene. That, however, which throws the most suspicion on the matter is that even John and Luke have made no mention of her in their narratives of the burial and resurrection. Was the reason perhaps that she was so much overwhelmed with the death of her beloved Son that she had neither the power nor the inclination to be present? In conclusion, and this is indeed a principal argument—Would not the mother of Jesus have been designated as such, and not as Joseph's wife? Not that she was not really so; but any one who considers the deep love and reverence breathing in the Gospels for Jesus, the Messiah and Saviour, will deem such a description—even apart from the general insignificance of Joseph in the Gospel history—as clearly impossible,

while, as we have seen, he was fully aware that she did not go to the grave by herself.

It is, however, well worthy of remark, that in Matthew's narrative the paragraph xxviii. 2—7 can evidently only refer to the first visit of the women to the grave.¹ This accounts for many expositors regarding Matt. xxviii. 1—10, as an exact parallel to Mar. xvi. 1—8, Lu. xxiv. 1—12, and then assuming a double appearance of our Lord to the women, first that mentioned Matt. xxviii. 9, 10, and then that Joh. xx. 10—18. On this assumption the events are arranged as follows. Very early in the morning Mary Magdalene accompanies the other women to the sepulchre.² Then occurred what is related Lu. xxiv. 1—12, Mar. xvi. 1—8, Matt. xxviii. 1—8. On their return Mary Magdalene outran the rest to inform the Apostles of what they had seen. Then occurred the events recorded Joh. xx. 2—10, Lu. xxiv. 12. The Lord, however, manifested Himself to the women who remained behind.³ Mary Magdalene knowing nothing of this, hastened back to the sepulchre, where our Lord also appeared to her.⁴ Very ingenious,

since this Mary, whenever there was occasion to define her more closely, is always called the "mother of Jesus." Since, therefore, the reader is precluded from thinking of Joseph the father of our Lord, the next person of that name who would occur to him would be Joseph of Arimathea. He is expressly mentioned for the first time two verses before, Mar. xv. 45. It was he (the councillor) who had begged leave from Pilate to bury the body of Jesus, v. 43. In his grave Jesus was buried, v. 46, and it was natural for one of his family, either his wife or daughter, to be present at the burial. Was she possibly the same with "Mary the mother of Mark," Acts xii. 12? A possibility I will not further enlarge on.

From the earliest times the most opposite views have obtained in the Church as to the Jameses mentioned in the New Testament: and the same is true with regard to the Marys. In conclusion, I will state my own view for examination. I find *five* or perhaps *six* different Marys: (1) Mary the mother of Jesus; (2) Mary the wife of Alphæus or Cleopas, the mother of the Apostle James the son of Alphæus, and of Josès; (3) Mary Magdalene; (4) Mary of Bethany, the sister of Lazarus and Martha; (5) Mary of Jerusalem, the mother of Mark the Evangelist, who may perhaps, but scarcely, be identified with the sister of Lazarus, and who, in conclusion, is the same as (6) Mary the daughter or wife of the counsellor Joseph of Arimathea.

¹ Cf. Mar. xvi. 2—7, Lu. xxiv. 1—8.

² Lu. xxiv. 10, Mar. xvi. 1, Matt. xxviii. 1.

³ Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.

⁴ Joh. xx. 11—18.

but also very far-fetched—and the whole to be traced to the once popular acceptance of the passage in Matthew. But the hypothesis required by this view, which are not few, are flatly contradicted by the text itself. According to Matt. xxviii. 1, the other Mary accompanied Mary Magdalene. Now, had the same visit been intended by the Synoptists, Mark, at any rate, who had mentioned her in the preceding verse, Mar. xv. 47, would certainly have named her again. Further, Luke xxiv. 9 (parall.) seems utterly opposed to the hypothesis of Mary Magdalene's having run on before. Again, it is stated by Luke in a subsequent passage,¹ that these women generally, and not merely one of their number (for before the disciples set out for Emmaus they had all returned into the city and brought their tale), had not then seen the Lord. It follows from this hypothesis that Mary Magdalene was not present at the appearance recorded Matt. xxviii. 9, 10. And yet according to Matt. xxviii. 1, she was the only one who could have been present, with the exception of "the other Mary," who, however, is not mentioned in the supposed parallel passages of the other two Synoptists. In conclusion, it must be assumed almost of necessity, that our Lord did not shew Himself *first* to Mary Magdalene, but to the *other* women, because it was on their first visit that He appeared to them; while we find a direct contradiction to this in the words of the early addition to St. Mark, ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρίας τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ.

We may, however, get rid of all these hypothesis, artifices, and forced interpretations by the assumption that Matthew has combined in his account the occurrence of the two visits, and represented them as all taking place on the last, which was the most important, as being connected with the appearance of Christ. Such combinations, which somewhat diminish its chronological and topographical value, are not unfrequent in his Gospel. And in this we have another example of the truth that it is only when viewed in connection with his entire idiosyncrasy that an Evangelist can be rightly understood.

The appearance of our Lord to the women has not been

¹ Lu. xxiv. 22, 23.

mentioned by St. Paul in the passage from the Corinthians. This may have been either because in the propagation of the Gospel any testimony borne by women would have been little regarded both from the position then occupied by the female sex, and also in this case from the very nature of the event, or because it was his purpose to mention only the most important of the appearances of Christ.

When the Sanhedrim receive the report of the watch, they spread the tale that our Lord's body had been stolen from the tomb.¹

On the day of the resurrection (which the Church therefore celebrates with perfect correctness on a Sunday) our Lord shewed Himself again several times to His followers. Among them to His two disciples on their walk to Emmaus, 60 stades = $1\frac{1}{2}$ German [nearly 7 English] miles from Jerusalem.²

Who were these two? We can gain no certain information from the $\epsilon\chi\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon$, v. 13, which refers to $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\omicron\iota\upsilon\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$, v. 9. One of them was certainly not an Apostle, for he was named Cleopas, v. 18. The other may certainly have been an Apostle, but v. 33 does not enable us to come to any conclusion on the point. It appears to me, however, very probable that Cleopas is the same name with Clopas, or Alphæus, and that he was accompanied by his son the Apostle James the son of Alphæus. This is favoured by the assertion 1 Cor. xv. 7, that James was one of those to whom our Lord appeared, and also by the fragment of the *Evangelium secundum Hebræos* found in Jerome *de vir. illust.* c. 2.

On their return to Jerusalem, they learn that the Lord had also appeared unto Simon, v. 34: but when this occurred, whether previously or subsequently to His appearance to them, is not stated. This Simon must be understood of Simon Peter, for we can hardly identify him with the brother of our Lord of that name, for we read, 1 Cor. xv. 5, that our Lord did appear to Simon or Cephas, and Luke makes no mention of Simon the Lord's brother.

¹ Matt. xxviii. 11—15.

² Joseph. *de Bell. Jud.* vii. 66; Winer, *R. W. B. Art.* "Emmaus;" Lu. xxiv. 13—33, cf. Mar. xvi. 12, 13.

Finally, Jesus appeared the same day *οὔσης ὁψίας*, Joh. xx. 19, to the eleven, and *τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς*, Lu. xxiv. 33, with the exception of Thomas, Joh. xx. 24.¹ This seems to be alluded to in 1 Cor. xv. 5, by the words *εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα*.

Eight days afterwards, *i.e.* on the next Sunday, the 24th of Nisan = April 16, Jesus appeared again to His disciples, but this time Thomas, the doubter, was with them.² One might be disposed to regard *εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν*, 1 Cor. xv. 7, as parallel to this, though another interpretation, which I shall shortly mention, appears to me more probable. This would have greater probability if *τοῖς ἀποστ. πᾶσιν* stood immediately after *εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα*, and if the words could be translated "the twelve with the exception of Thomas." For then *πᾶσιν* would indicate that at another appearance Thomas was also with them. But as it stands *πᾶσιν* is contrasted with the appearance to the Apostle James alone.

With this the first appearances in Judea close. The feast of the Passover was completed on Thursday the 21st of Nisan. The disciples remained over the approaching sabbath, on the 23rd of Nisan, and also the 24th, as the day which commemorated their Lord's resurrection. After this, there was nothing more to prevent their leaving Jerusalem, and therefore they obeyed their Lord's command to go into Galilee.³ The first appearance in Galilee⁴ fell, as we shall see, later than the last appearance in Judea, which indeed is expressly stated by *μετὰ ταῦτα*, v. 1, cf. v. 14.⁵

¹ Joh. xx. 19—24, Lu. xxiv. 36—43, cf. Mar. xvi. 14. Everything in this passage supports the view that our Lord's first appearance to the Eleven is intended. He upbraids *them* (in the plural) for *their* unbelief, and not Thomas only. It was while they were at table, *ἀνακειμένοις αὐτοῖς* (cf. Lu. xxiv. 42, 43) that He appeared. But even if we were unable to discover a more perfect harmony in this passage, and indeed in the whole section, xvi. 9—20, with the other Gospels, we should not, therefore, establish any contradiction between Mark and the other Evangelists, since Mark is not to be regarded as its author. The credibility of this passage, of the author of which we know nothing definite, must be established by its connection with the other Gospels, not the converse.

³ Matt. xxviii. 7, 10, Mar. xvi. 7.

² Joh. xx. 24—29.

⁴ Joh. xxi. 1—23.

⁵ By these words, *μετὰ ταῦτα*, the author of Joh. xxi. connects his narrative with Joh. xx. 24—29.

2. *Our Lord's appearances in Galilee.*

Two appearances of our Lord in Galilee are recorded. One Joh. xxi. 1—23, the other Matt. xxviii. 16—20. Cf. Mar. xvi. 15—18. The former on the Sea of Galilee while the disciples were fishing; the latter on a mountain. The nature of the discourse uttered by our Lord on the second occasion, which sounds like a parting word to his followers in Galilee, as well as the express declaration¹ that the appearance on the Lake was the *third* important one—an enumeration which passes over appearances to individuals, as that to Mary Magdalene—evidently prove that the first-mentioned was the earlier.

There were seven persons present when our Lord shewed Himself at the Lake of Tiberias:² Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the two sons of Zebedee, and two other of His disciples. One of the two not more particularly mentioned was, according to my opinion, the eye-witness who added his subscription, *vv.* 24, 25, John the Presbyter.³ It was certainly not without significance that our Lord appeared to them on the Sea of Galilee, and as He had done previously to the two pairs of brother Apostles, while they were engaged in fishing.⁴ For how deep must have been the impression made by an appearance of Jesus under such circumstances, especially on the two chief persons of the narrative, Simon Peter and John!

The last and most important assembly which Jesus favoured with His presence in Galilee, was that on the mountain.⁵ Not merely the eleven Apostles,⁶ but in all "five hundred brethren"⁷ were present. Nor can we wonder that, in such a number, "some doubted," οἱ δὲ

¹ Joh. xxi. 14.

² Joh. xxi. 2.

³ See my dissertation referred to above, p. 402.

⁴ Matt. iv. 11—22, Mar. i. 16—20, Lu. v. 1—11.

⁵ Matt. xxviii. 16—20, Mar. xvi. 15—18.

⁶ Matt. xxviii. 16.

⁷ 1 Cor. xv. 6. The greater receptivity of the Galileans for the Gospel seems to be shewn by the "five hundred brethren," 1 Cor. xv. 6, compared with the "hundred and twenty" in Jerusalem, Acts i. 15.

ἐδίστασαν.¹ At the beginning and end of our Lord's ministry a high and sacred mountain in Galilee comes forward prominently, on which our Lord is always surrounded by a great multitude. There can be no doubt that it is one and the same mountain. Matthew, as his manner is, indicates it with little precision, by the clause οὗ ἐράξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, "where Jesus had appointed them."² If the parallel passage in the second Gospel had been really written by Mark, who delights so much in detail, he certainly would not have omitted a more precise definition.

3. *Our Lord's last appearance in Judea.*

Towards the end of His sojourn on earth, our Lord appeared once again to His disciples in Judea, on the day of His ascension.³ All the Apostles were present,⁴ who are specified by name, Acts i. 13. The appearances of Jesus had completed their cycle, in which they had presented the counterpart to His public ministry, first in Judea, then in Galilee, then again in Judea. Here in Jerusalem the Lord had been crucified, and here His disciples were to tarry, waiting for the outpouring of His Holy Spirit, which took place on the day of Pentecost, Acts i. 4—8, ii. 1—4.

Both the time and place of the ascension are highly significant. The place was Bethany,⁵ on the Mount of

¹ Matt. xxviii. 1.

² Cf. Matt. xxviii. vv. 7, 10.

³ Acts i. 2—13, Lu. xxiv. 50—53, cf. Mar. xvi. 19, 20.

⁴ Acts i. 2.

⁵ Lu. xxiv. 50. St. John, from whom we learn that Bethany was "fifteen furlongs" from Jerusalem (Joh. xi. 18), also indicates that it was "a sabbath-day's journey" from the city. For though it was the sabbath—on which day we have, we believe, proved the supper recorded Joh. xii. 1 sq. to have taken place—many Jews came to Bethany to see our Lord and Lazarus (Joh. xii. 9—11). Now how does this tally with the statement of the Rabbins and other writers that a sabbath-day's journey (see Winer, *R. W. B.* "Sabbathsweg") was from six to seven stades, i.e. from 1800 to 2800, or, on an average, 2000 paces? Certainly only on the hypothesis that for some reason or other the distance was not calculated immediately from the walls

Olives, near Jerusalem, a sabbath-day's journey off.¹ The time was forty days after His resurrection. And since this occurred on the 9th of April, a Sunday, it was Thursday the 18th of May that our Lord ascended to heaven. The very same place, and the same day of the week, which six weeks before had witnessed His agony in the approach of death, were now to see His glorification which had been attained by His death. This can scarcely have been accidental, especially as we have already seen several examples of the wisdom with which our Lord selected the most appropriate times and places even for His less important appearances. On the other hand, the ideal relation contained in the forty days, which is not at all indicated in the narrative, warrants us in asserting that

of the city. This admits of proof. While our Lord was on His way from Bethany to Jerusalem, He met with the ass on which He made His entrance into the city. The precise place was Bethphage, Matt. xxi. 1, parall., which must consequently have been on the way from Bethany to Jerusalem, and nearer to the city. Now Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* p. 73, quotes a host of passages from the Talmud, which make it plain that the Jews regarded Bethphage as if it lay within the walls of Jerusalem. The boundaries of the walls of the city were therefore conceived as carried forwards, so that Bethany could still be within a sabbath-day's journey for the dwellers at Jerusalem, though it was not less than 15 stades from the walls of the city. Lightfoot has misunderstood the passages from the Rabbins in saying that Bethphage was a district, close to Jerusalem, between it and the Mount of Olives.—[The difficulty which Wieseler has been attempting, not very successfully, to meet, disappears if in Lu. xxiv. 50 we adopt the reading of N, B, C, *ἐως πρὸς* (for *ἐως εἰς* of the textus receptus) *Βηθανίαν*, i.e. "He led them out *in the direction of* Bethany," not into the village itself. The place of the ascension would thus be, in Dean Stanley's words, "the secluded hills which overhang the village on the eastern slope of Olivet" (*Sinai and Palestine*, p. 454), and thus what Meyer calls "the unmonstrable hypothesis that the sabbath-day's journey is to be reckoned from Bethphage," would be rendered needless. Wieseler is also in error as to Bethphage, which is certainly to be understood not of a village, but of a district. If it were a village, the collocation of the words Matt. xxi. 1, Mar. xi. 1, Lu. xix. 29 would fix it to the east of Bethany, not intermediate between Bethany and Jerusalem. See Caspari, *Chronolog. and Histor. Introduction*, p. 189 (Engl. Trans.), for the authorities which he considers prove that by Bethphage we are to understand the whole district of the Mount of Olives from the eastern wall of Jerusalem as far as Bethany.—TR.]

¹ Acts i. 12.

no so-called round number, and therefore devoid of historical accuracy, can lie concealed therein.

Was St. Paul acquainted with our Lord's appearance to his disciples at His ascension? Did he teach an ascent of our Lord to heaven? This might be conjectured *à priori* from his well-known relation to the Evangelist Luke, which, as we have already seen, is reflected in several common accounts of other appearances of the risen Saviour. The fact, however, is actually declared 1 Tim. iii. 16, Eph. iv. 8—10, Rom. x. 6. It is also intimated in his teaching as to the personality and corporeality of our Lord in such passages as Rom. vi. 9—10, Phil. iii. 21. It lies at the foundation of his doctrine of the glorification of individual Christians, as Phil. iii. 21, 1 Thess. iv. 17, 1 Cor. xv. Indeed, this doctrine, in its innermost meaning, is hardly anything but the history of the resurrection and ascension of Christ, conceived in its idea. We may, therefore, conclude that he has mentioned the appearance of our Lord immediately preceding His ascent into heaven in 1 Cor. xv., and must look for it in the words *εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν*.¹ This interpretation is also one to which we are led by the words *ἔσχατον πάντων* which immediately follow.

The Church is right in celebrating the Feast of the Ascension on a Thursday.

¹ Cf. Acts i. 2, 13.

EXCURSUS

ON THE

FORM OF THE JEWISH YEAR AT THE TIME OF CHRIST.

THE nature of the existing festal calendar of the Jews, which, according to Ideler,¹ was not introduced till the fourth century after Christ, has been sufficiently elucidated in the excellent work of Ben David,² and in Ideler's convincing treatise based upon it. But our acquaintance with this calendar does not afford us any clearer insight into the arrangement of the Jewish calendar at the time of Christ. This, however, is all we have to do with.

We have already discussed the relation between the two calendars,³ and have adduced examples both from the New Testament and the most ancient Talmudical writings to prove how considerable were the variations between this later calendar and that in use in our Lord's day. The whole construction of the later calendar is connected with the special problem it had to solve, viz. to prevent particular feast-days from falling on particular days of the week,⁴ e.g. the 15th of Nisan on the second, fourth, and sixth day of the week; while in our Lord's time any feast, in accordance with the original intention of the lawgiver, might fall on any day of the week, and was only bound to a particular day of the month. Hence

¹ *Handbuch der Chronologie*, I. 578.

² *Zur Berechnung und Geschichte des jüdischen Kalenders*, Berl. 1817.

³ p. 343 sq.

⁴ The Rabbins call this the exception, *רְבִי*, designating the days of the week by Hebrew letters, and then, as they were often in the habit of doing for convenience' sake, forming one memorial word of them.

arises the necessity for submitting everything stated in the Talmud with regard to the nature of the Jewish calendar to a careful scrutiny, to determine to which stage of its development it belongs. Through neglect of this kind of criticism, a pretty widely spread suspicion of the Talmud and almost all its statements has again found admission among Christians, while, if only due judgment and circumspection were used, we should be able to obtain much accurate information relating to our Lord's time. The statements of the Talmud, however, will, in accordance with a fundamental principle of criticism of universal application, have to be regulated by the New Testament, the composition of which belongs to an earlier time, as well as by the almost contemporaneous writings of Josephus and Philo.

In this Excursus I shall state nothing with regard to the form of the year in our Lord's days but what I believe I may venture to speak of as absolutely certain, or at least highly probable. Still, in the course of our investigation, everything will be brought forward which is found essential at least for the full establishment of that form and arrangement of the Jewish calendar which has been taken for granted in the preceding investigations concerning the life of Christ. We shall leave many questions still unresolved, and, indeed, scarcely touched on. These may be reserved for other abler men, chronologists by profession, or, so far as strength permits, for subsequent investigations of my own. After the hypotheses of Scaliger and others, which, though destitute of the necessary historical basis, not unfrequently displayed great acuteness, had been justly rejected, there arose so great a distrust of the possibility of the solution of this question, in the stricter sense here intended, that it seemed advisable to approach the complete solution gradually, and by a way which may, step by step, be established by examples. The only aim of our investigation is to contribute something towards this solution, and especially by furnishing the scholar with certain fixed historical resting-points, by the help of which he may arrive at a more perfect insight into the nature and construction of the Jewish calendar in the time of Christ. After the accurate in-

vestigation of this point, we shall be able, by the help of the knowledge thus acquired, to ascend to the earlier, and so to the earliest times, where the sources of information are far more scanty.

What is here said of the imperfection of our knowledge of the earlier Jewish calendar is only true, however, when the question proposed is to reduce any particular date whatsoever of the Jewish calendar to the corresponding date in the Julian calendar. On the other hand we are perfectly acquainted with the general character of the Jewish year. We lay down the following general principles on the subject,¹ partly for the benefit of some of our readers, partly on account of its connection with what follows, and with reference to the time of Christ.

(1) The Jewish year was a lunar year of twelve months of alternately 29 and 30 days, which was again adjusted to the solar year by the intercalation of an entire month of 30 days. This adjustment of the lunar to the solar year was determined by the ordinance of the lawgiver, according to which it was necessary that the corn in Palestine should be sufficiently forward in the first month of the year (Nisan) for the wave-sheaf to be offered on the 16th of that month.

(2) The beginning of the month, or new moon, was not determined by the astronomical or true new moon, but by the first appearance of her disk.

(3) As the ordinary year contained 354 days,² it was

¹ In addition to the works of Ben David and Ideler, I would direct special attention to the treatise of the astronomer Wurm, to which reference has so continually been made, *Astronomische Beiträge zur genäherten Bestimmung des Geburts und Todes Jahres Jesu*, Bengel's *Archiv*, vol. II. pp. 1—39, 261—313; and to Anger, *De temp. in Actis Apostol. ratione*, pp. 29—38.

² Cf. Galen. *Comment. i. in Hippocratis Epidem.* ed. Kühn, Tom. XVII. p. 23: Τοῖς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἀριθμοῦσι οἱ δώδεκα μῆνες ἀριθμοὺς ἡμερῶν γίνονται τυδ' (354). Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ ἀπὸ συνόδου τῆς πρὸς ἥλιον αὐτῆς χρόνος πάσης ἄλλης συνόδου πρὸς τὰς θ' καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας ἔτι καὶ ἄλλο μέρος ἡμῖς προσλαμβάνει, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς δύο μῆνας γενομένους θ' καὶ ν' (59) τέμνουσιν εἰς ἄνισα μέρη τὸν μὲν ἕτερον αὐτῶς λ' ἡμερῶν ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν δ' ἕτερον θ' καὶ κ'. Ἀναγκάζονται τοιγαροῦν οἱ οὕτως ὄγοντες τοὺς μῆνας ἐμβόλιμόν τινα ποιεῖν, ὅταν πρῶτον ἀθροισθῇ τὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἐνιαυτῶν ἔλλειμμα καὶ γίνηται χρόνος ἐνὸς μηνός. While, then, the Jewish calendar at that time appears to have had only two years

about $11\frac{1}{4}$ days too short when compared with the solar year. The intercalary month of 30 days was therefore usually introduced every three years, and sometimes in the second year.¹ It was always intercalated after the first Adar.²

(4) Without seeking to determine whether or not the Jews had any fixed cycle of years, either discovered by themselves or borrowed from other nations, for the purpose of correctly adjusting their lunar year to the solar year, at the close of the cycle, by means of intercalation, we are able to determine with some degree of accuracy what was the method of intercalation adopted in the years before and after the seventh, or sabbatical year, which they celebrated as long as they were masters of Palestine.³ Since they were permitted neither to sow nor to reap during the sabbatical year, there was no intercalation that year, so as not still further to curtail the time of labour and harvest. For the same reason the intercalation did not, as a rule, take place before the Nisan of the following year. It follows, then, that the intercalation must have been made before the Nisan of the year immediately preceding the sabbatical year, and before that of the second year after it. This rule, which the nature of the case required, is however expressly confirmed by the Talmudists.⁴ As we have already seen, the year 29 A.D. affords an example of an intercalation of this kind before the Nisan of the second year.⁵

(5) The beginning, or first month⁶ of the Jewish festal

of different lengths, the ordinary year of 354 days and the intercalated year of 358 days, it now has six years of different lengths. Cf. Ideler, i. 540.

¹ This rule is confirmed by the Talmud. There is only one teacher, Rabbi Akiba, who speaks of two intercalated years following in succession, and that only "propter necessitatem." Cf. Anger, p. 32.

² Supra, p. 205 ff.

³ This was no longer the case when the present calendar was constructed and adopted. See p. 203.

⁴ Anger, pp. 32, 33.

⁵ See p. 204.

⁶ Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 10. 5: Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῷ ὃς Νισῶν παρ' ἡμῶν καλεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τεσσαρακδικάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην ἐν κριῷ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος, κ. τ. λ. Nisan is here simply mentioned as the commencement of the year. With this we should compare *Ant.* i. 3. 3. In this passage Josephus, after identifying "the second

calendar, was Nisan. In this month the new year's festival was also celebrated at that time.¹ When once the first of Nisan of any given year has been correctly determined, all the succeeding days of the Jewish calendar are also known. With regard to the festivals the rule holds good that the 15th of Nisan falls on the same day of the week with the fast on the 9th of Ab, which was not instituted till after the destruction of the temple by Titus; the 16th on the same day of the week with Pentecost and the first day of the Feast of Dedication; the 17th with the new moon of the month Tisri, the present new-year's day, and the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles; the 18th on the same day of the week with the new moon of Adar; the 19th on the same day of the week with the Day of Atonement; and the 20th on the same day of the week with the preceding Feast of Purim.²

(6) The Passover was always celebrated after the vernal equinox, which at that epoch fell on Mar. 23.³ It was not till about this time that the corn, the first-fruits of which had to be offered on the 16th, began to ripen in Palestine.⁴ This is also supported by the Talmud.⁵ But we have other and more decisive testimony to this point in the statements to the same effect made by Philo and Josephus, the Jewish writers who came nearest to that age. Josephus, on the one hand, makes the month Nisan correspond exactly with the month Xanthicus of the Syro-Mace-

month," Gen. vii. 11, in which the flood began, with Marchesvan, the rainy month, and stating that the date of the commencement of the year with the first of Tisri, here presupposed, coincides with that observed by the Israelites during their sojourn in Egypt, he proceeds: Μωϋσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισῶν ὅς ἐστι Ξανθικὸς μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ᾤρισε, κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγόν· οὗτος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὰς ἤρχεν. ἐπὶ μέντοιγε πράσσει καὶ ὥναι καὶ τὴν ἑλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον (of calculating the year from Tisri 1) διεφύλαξε. The existing calendar, on the contrary, begins the year with the first of Tisri, as Josephus tells us was the case with the Israelites during their bondage in Egypt.

¹ See p. 233.

² Ideler, i. 562, adduces a rule, slightly modified from that already given, applicable to the present Jewish calendar.

³ Ideler, i. 78.

⁴ See p. 212 and 141.

⁵ Cf. Anger, p. 31.

donians (which, according to Ideler,¹ answered precisely to April of the Julian calendar), and, in one passage, with the Egyptian month Pharmuthi² (reaching, according to Ideler,³ from Mar. 27 to Ap. 25), and, on the other hand, remarks⁴ expressly that the Passover was celebrated by the Jews when the sun was in the sign of Aries. This is also asserted by Philo, in his works on *The Decalogue*,⁵ and *The Life of Moses*.⁶ We have, however, the earliest and important evidence in a fragment of the *Canon Paschalis* of the learned Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea, in the third century, preserved by Eusebius.⁷ The words of Anatolius are as follows: 'Ιουδαίοις δὲ ἐγινώσκετο τοῖς πάλαι καὶ πρὸ Χριστοῦ ἐφυλάττετο τε πρὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα. Μαθεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Φίλωνος, Ἰωσήπου, Μουσαίου, λεγομένων καὶ οὐ μόνον τούτων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔτι παλαιοτέρων, ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγαθοβούλων τῶν ἐπὶ κλην διδασκάλων, Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ πάνυ, ὃς ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα κατειλεγμένος τοῖς τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ θείας Ἑβραίων ἐρμηνεύσασι γραφὰς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ καὶ τῷ τούτου πατρὶ καὶ βίβλους ἐξηγητικὰς τοῦ Μωϋσέως νόμου τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσεφώνησε βασιλεῦσιν. Οὗτοι τὰ ζητούμενα κατὰ τὴν ἑξοδὸν ἐπιλύοντες φασὶ δεῖν τὰ διαβατήρια θύειν ἐπίσης ἅπαντας μετὰ ἰσημερίαν ἑαρινήν, μεσοῦντος τοῦ πρώτου μηνός· τούτο δὲ εὐρίσκεισθαι, τὸ πρῶτον τμήμα τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ ἢ, ὥς τινες αὐτῶν ὠνόμασαν, ζωοφόρου κύκλου διεξίοντος τοῦ ἡλίου. Ὁ δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος προστίθῃσιν, ὥς εἴη ἐξανάγκης τῇ τῶν διαβατηρίων ἑορτῇ μὴ μόνον τὸν ἥλιον ἰσημερινὸν διαπορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὴν σελήνην δέ. Τῶν γὰρ ἰσημερινῶν, τμημάτων ὄντων δύο, τοῦ μὲν ἑαρινου, τοῦ δὲ μετοπωρινου, καὶ διαμετρούντων ἄλληλα, δοθείσης τε τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων ἡμέρας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαideκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς μεθ' ἑσπέραν, ἐστήξεται μὲν σελήνη τὴν ἐναντίαν καὶ διάμετρον τῷ ἡλίῳ στάσιν ὥσπερ οὖν ἕξεστιν ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις

¹ I. p. 430.² Ant. II. 14. 6.³ Ib. I. 143.⁴ Ib. III. 10. 5.⁵ Tom. II. p. 206, ed. Mangey: 'Εβδομάδι δὲ τὰς μεγίστας καὶ πολυμέρους ἑορτὰς (the Passover and Feast of Tabernacles) προσέειπε (sc. Moses) κατὰ τὰς τοῦ ἑτοῦς ἰσημερίας ἑαρινήν καὶ μετοπωρινήν, κ.τ.λ.⁶ Tom. II. p. 109: τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑαρινῆς ἰσημερίας πρῶτον ἀναγράφει μῆνα Μωϋσῆς ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδῳ ἀναθείς, κ.τ.λ. A little further on he proceeds: τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τούτῳ περὶ τεσσαρεσκαideκάτην ἡμέραν μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κυκλοῦ γίνεσθαι πλησιφαοῦς ἄγεται τὰ διαβατήρια δημοφανῆς ἑορτῇ, τὸ Χαλδαῖστί λεγόμενον πάσχα.⁷ Hist. Eccl. VII. 32.

ὁρᾶν ἔσονται δὲ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐαρινὸν ἰσημερινὸν ὁ ἥλιος τμήμα, ἡ δὲ ἐξανάγκης¹ κατὰ τὸ φθινοπωρινὸν ἰσημερινὸν ἡ σελήνη οὐδα πλείστα καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς αὐτῶν λεγόμενα τοῦτο μὲν πιθανὰ τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς κυριακὰς ἀποδείξεις προέοντα, δι' ὧν παριστάνειν πειρῶνται τὴν τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν δεῖν πάντως μετ' ἰσημερίαν ἀγεσθαι.¹

It is worth notice, that one of the authorities, Aristobulus, who speaks so decidedly on the absolute necessity of celebrating the Passover after the vernal equinox, and from whose Commentary on the Pentateuch it is expressly stated that Anatolius made extracts, lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 250 B.C.

From the foregoing propositions, it is easy to deduce the following theory to enable us to discover the Jewish Passover of any given year in our Lord's time. I will give it in the very words of Wurm.² "We must calculate from our astronomical tables for the meridian of Jerusalem, the true astronomical new moon, which immediately precedes the spring full moon, *i.e.* the full moon next after the vernal equinox, *i.e.* in the first century, Mar. 23. To the date of the true conjunction, *i.e.* the first new moon, when found, we must add from about twenty-four to forty-eight hours, or on an average³ a day and a half, and we shall then have determined the ancient Jewish first of Nisan, after the phasis, *i.e.* after the first appearance of the moon's disk. If to this first of Nisan fourteen more days are added, we shall reach the 15th of Nisan, or the day of the Jewish Easter Festival."

Starting on the hypothesis, of which there can be no doubt, that Christ was crucified after the beginning of "the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, August 28 A.D. to

¹ On the astronomical correctness of this remark, see Wurm, p. 279. He remarks further, that, according to Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 18, the Samaritans also held the opinion that it was not allowable to celebrate the Easter before the vernal equinox, ὥστε ἐξανάγκης φθάνειν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἡμῖν ἰσημερίαν.

² *u. s.* p. 279.

³ Wurm has entered into very elaborate calculations respecting the difference between the time of the astronomical new moon, and the first appearance of its disk, the result of which has been given above. We have, however, perhaps more decided proof of his correctness than is afforded by his calculations in the fact that it may be proved by examples.

August 29 A.D. (Lu. iii. 1), and before April 37 A.D., at which time the Roman Governor Pilate had been recalled from Judea, this meritorious astronomer, "not," as he modestly remarks, "with the view of deciding positively on any year, but only to render it easier for those interested in chronology to take a survey of the astronomical notes of certain years between which we have to choose," has given a table, in which the 15th of Nisan is calculated in accordance with the fundamental principles given above for the years 28—36 A.D.

As we have had the table printed *verbatim*,¹ to render it more intelligible we append the introductory words of its author. "The time of the new moon is Jerusalem mean time. The difference of longitude between Jerusalem and Paris being, when reduced to time 2^h 12' 0" E. M. for morning (from midnight to midday). E. for evening (from midday to midnight)."

The 15th of Nisan for the years 28—36 A.D. of the ordinary reckoning conjecturally determined.

A.D.	Time of the true New Moon.	1st of Nisan according to the true New Moon.		15th Day of Nisan, and Day of the Week according to the true New Moon.	
		New Moon.	Phasis.	true New Moon.	Phasis.
28	15 Mar. 2h. 16' M.	15 Mar.	16 Mar.	29 Mar. M.	30 Mar. Tu.
	13 April 4h. 10' E.	13 Apr.	15 Apr.	27 Apr. Tu.	29 Apr. Th.
29	2 April 7h. 42' E.	2 Apr.	4 Apr.	16 Apr. Sa.	18 Apr. M.
30	22 Mar. 8h. 8' E.	22 Mar.	24 Mar.	5 Apr. W.	7 Apr. F.
31	12 Mar. 12h. 56' M.	12 Mar.	13 Mar.	26 Mar. M.	27 Mar. Tu.
	10 April 2h. 0' E.	10 Apr.	12 Apr.	24 Apr. Tu.	26 Apr. Th.
32	29 Mar. 10h. 57' E.	29 Mar.	31 Mar.	12 Apr. Sa.	14 Apr. M.
33	19 Mar. 1h. 16' E.	19 Mar.	21 Mar.	2 Apr. Th.	4 Apr. Sa.
	17 April 9h. 30' E.	17 Apr.	19 Apr.	1 May F.	3 May S.
34	9 Mar. 9h. 2' M.	9 Mar.	11 Mar.	23 Mar. Tu.	25 Mar. Th.
	7 April 6h. 42' E.	7 Apr.	9 Apr.	21 Apr. W.	23 Apr. F.
35	28 Mar. 6h. 19' M.	28 Mar.	30 Mar.	11 Apr. M.	13 Apr. W.
36	16 Mar. 5h. 53' E.	16 Mar.	18 Mar.	30 Mar. F.	1 Apr. S.
	15 April 5h. 15' M.	15 Apr.	16 Apr.	29 Apr. S.	30 Apr. M.

¹ I have allowed myself to make but one change in the table, by correcting the manifest oversight of placing Ap. 24, A.D. 31, on the

I have especial reason for congratulating myself upon this table, and that the more as it was not drawn up by myself. Had it been so, it might have been imagined that I had adjusted the general principles on which it is based, to support the conclusions I had already arrived at by another method. As it is, however, the matter stands thus: an astronomer,¹ recognized as a cautious, intelligent enquirer, *à priori*, puts forth a table relating to the commencement of a succession of years, based upon well-authenticated data, without any special object but that of impartially giving the notes of time of those years, and without any expectation,² still less any belief that his calculations could be made to harmonize with the reality. If, then, it can be demonstrated that Wurm's method is in accordance with several, nay, as far as my acquaintance with history goes, with *all* the instances belonging to our Lord's epoch, or a little sooner or later, one may be well warranted in asserting that theory and fact in this instance fully support one another, and that the one is verified and confirmed by the other.

We have now, therefore, to enquire whether Wurm's theory can be fully supported by undoubted examples. The want of these was the only reason for the author's doubting his ability of arriving at satisfactory proof. Besides this, it had escaped his notice that, as we have said above, the thirteenth or intercalary month was as a general rule not introduced in the sabbatical year.³

The writings of Josephus were naturally the first quarter from which to look for examples. The passages quoted below⁴ have, however, been erroneously regarded as such, fourth, instead of the third day of the week, and Ap. 26 on the sixth instead of the fifth. This error has been already noticed by Anger, p. 195.

¹ Even Ideler, *Hdb.* II. 413, bestows the highest praise on him and his treatise.

² Wurm has been unable to point out a single undoubted example in support of his theory. This arose from the peculiar difficulties of the chronological marks which belong, as we shall presently see, to the particular data investigated by him.

³ See p. 423.

⁴ *De Bell. Jud.* v. 3. 1: τῆς τῶν ἁζύμων ἐνστάσης ἡμέρας τεσσερα καὶ δεκάτῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός, ἐνῇ δοκοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπαλλαγῆναι Αἰγυπτίων, κ.τ.λ. *Ib.* vi. 5. 3: ἀθροισμένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἁζύμων ἐορτήν· ὁγδόῃ δ' ἦν Ξανθικοῦ μηνός.

and have for this reason been mentioned by Wurm.¹ The second passage has been already explained.² Merely for the benefit of his Grecian readers Josephus has employed the Syro-Macedonian name Xanthicus, which here, and generally in his writings, stands for the Jewish month Nisan, to which on the whole it corresponded. For no other reason could he in his calendar of Jewish feasts have remarked, without further explanation, that the Passover fell on the 14th of Xanthicus (Nisan), the Day of Atonement on the 10th of Hyperberetæus (Tisri), and the Feast of Tabernacles on the 15th of that month. And thus, too, he was able to speak of the same day³ as the 25th of Kisleu, and immediately afterwards as the 25th of Apellæus, etc. But, apart from this usage of Josephus, the above-quoted passages would prove nothing, since naturally the time when the people gathered together for the feast was not necessarily coincident with the feast itself. Scaliger, without due regard to the mode of specification adopted by Josephus throughout the whole of his work, has employed the first-quoted passage to support his theory that the Jews at that time employed the Kalippic Cycle. Interpreting Xanthicus of the Syro-Macedonian month of that name, which at that time exactly corresponded to April of the Julian calendar, he deduced that in the year of the destruction of Jerusalem, to which the datum belongs, *i.e.* 70 A.D., the 14th of Nisan must have fallen on Ap. 14. But even if Xanthicus were really to be interpreted of April, it is more probable that Ben David⁴ would be correct in deeming that according to

¹ pp. 304—306.

² See p. 250.

³ *Ant.* XII. 7. 6. For other instances, see Ideler, I. 430; Anger, pp. 16, 17. The following list gives the corresponding month of the Jewish and Syro-Macedonian calendars:—

Nisan	= Xanthicus.	Tisri	= Hyperberetæus.
Ijar	= Artemisius.	Marchesvan	= Dios.
Sivan	= Dæsius.	Kisleu	= Apellæus.
Tammus	= Panemus.	Thebet	= Andynæus.
Ab	= Loüs.	Shebet	= Peritius.
Elul	= Gorpæus.	Adar	= Dystrus.

We can thus immediately supply the corresponding Jewish name for a month when we find Josephus merely giving the Syro-Macedonian.

⁴ *u. s.* p. 39.

Josephus the 15th of Nisan—the day on which also, according to Josephus, the Jews were delivered from Egypt—corresponded in 70 A.D. to Ap. 14. Only the premiss with regard to Xanthicus is erroneous, and consequently Ben David's conclusion built upon it, that at the time of the destruction of the temple the present Jewish calendar (which would certainly make the 1st of Nisan of that year fall on Mar. 31 of the Julian calendar) was in use. We see then, from the investigation given above, that we learn nothing bearing on our question from this passage of Josephus, beyond that which is universally known, that the Jewish Passover was kept on the evening of the 14th of Xanthicus or Nisan. It is true that, apart from our enquiry, we also see that Josephus reckoned the civil day from midnight to midnight,¹ for he could not otherwise have said that the Day of Unleavened Bread, on which the Jews believed that they had been delivered from Egypt (i.e. the 15th of Nisan including the evening of the 14th), fell on the 14th of Nisan.

In the following investigation we shall only adduce those passages which can really serve as authorities for the arrangement of the Jewish calendar in our Lord's days: by which, therefore, we may be enabled to test and confirm the truth of the principles on which the table given above is founded.

(1) We have a passage of considerable importance in Josephus.² The high-priest Hyrcanus, we read, had accompanied the Syrian king Antiochus on a campaign against the Parthians. On the march, according to the historian Nicolaus of Damascus, whose words Josephus quotes, he begged that the army might be allowed to halt for a couple of days on account of a festival on which the Jews were not permitted to travel. With reference to this festival mentioned by Nicolaus, Josephus remarks: ³ καὶ

¹ *Ant.* XIII. 8. 4. This observation appears to me to free this much-controverted passage from all difficulty. The rendering of *ἐνστάσις* by "instabat," which perhaps Scaliger also had in his mind, is not merely at variance with the sense (*ἐνστάσις*, the aorist, not *ἐνιστάμενος*, the present), but also fails in supplying us with any sufficient reason for Josephus having added "on the 14th of Nisan."

² *Ant.* XIII. 8. 4.

³ The manner in which this observation is introduced favours the

ταῦτα μὲν οὐ ψεύδεται λέγων· ἐνέστη γὰρ ἡ πεντηκοστὴ ἑορτὴ μετὰ τὸ σάββατον· οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ ἡμῖν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν. The Feast of Pentecost, then, which immediately followed a sabbath, must in that year have fallen on a Sunday, and consequently the 16th of Nisan must also have been on Sunday. Now, if we were able to determine the year referred to more accurately, we should be able to see whether our theory coincided with the truth in this case or not. This year has certainly been a point of no small controversy. Some maintain that it was 130 B.C., others 131 B.C. To arrive at an accurate conclusion we must extend our remarks to some considerable length.

Special appeal has been made in this controversy to the First Book of Maccabees, where we find the regnal years of the Syrian rulers of that era, as well as those of the Jewish princes of the house of the Maccabees given in the most authentic forms. Now we know that in the two Books of Maccabees the era of the Seleucidæ is employed, which is defined, 1 Mac. i. 10, as the era "of the kingdom of the Greeks." It is also perfectly evident that that era is reckoned from a different initial point in the two books. It admits of dispute, however, which of the two adopted the true commencement. The epoch usually adopted for the era of the Seleucidæ is the autumn (Tisri) of 312 B.C. Ideler,¹ however, who, as far as my knowledge goes, is followed by all modern writers, endeavours to prove that the author of the first book reckoned from Nisan, 312 B.C.,

idea that Josephus, the priest, had reckoned backwards to the Feast of Pentecost, which occurred some 200 years before the writing of his history. For if not, we may readily enquire, as Hitzig does, *Ostern u. Pfingsten*, "How came Josephus to know the day of the week on which this Pentecost fell, since he does not mention any other source of information?" There may, however, in spite of the appearance to the contrary, have been such a source, though not expressly mentioned, and we have therefore limited our conclusion from this passage of Josephus to the assertion that it *favours* the idea of such a calculation: and yet, even with this limitation, it claims attention, especially from us, as we believe that we are able in another mode to point out that at that time there existed regular and legal means of arranging the Jewish Calendar. This is indeed supposed in the expressions used by Aristobulus and Agathobulus, quoted above, p. 425.

¹ *Handbuch*, I. 533.

that of the second, as is usually done, from Tisri, 311 B.C. It admits of proof that the former does not reckon from Tisri, 312 B.C. The tenth chapter adduced by Ideler is decisive on that point. For we see from v. 1 that it was not until 160 *Ær.* Seleucid. that Alexander took Ptolemais; and that Demetrius, who was then king of Syria, on hearing of this collected a host against him, and wrote to Jonathan the high priest of the Jews to dispose him in his favour. After this occurred all that is narrated vv. 7—20. And yet it is said, v. 21, that Jonathan, in the same year, in the seventh month, at the Feast of Tabernacles (15th of Tisri), put on the robes that had been sent him as a present by Alexander, who also desired to secure his friendship. Now, if the author had reckoned his 160th year from Tisri, the whole of this must have happened within a fortnight, which is incredible. Again, the subject of the sixth chapter is the accession to the throne of Antiochus Eupator, the son of Epiphanes. From v. 20 onwards, the expedition undertaken by him in that year against Judas Maccabeus is recorded. That, as is clear from vv. 53, 57, was a sabbatical year. But it is easy to shew¹ that this corresponded to the interval between the autumns of 164 and 163 B.C. If, then, the year 150 *Ær.* Seleuc. had been reckoned from the autumn of 312 B.C., it would not have begun before the autumn of 163 B.C.; that is, not until the sabbatical year occurring at that period had already come to an end. But though I agree with Ideler in thinking that the writer makes the era of the Seleucidæ commence at all events before Tisri, 312 B.C., yet I cannot believe that he does not make it begin till the Nisan of that year. On the contrary, I maintain that he must have made it begin in January, at the same time with that of Rome,² the mistress of the world, from which, as Ideler himself shews, the Syrians also received the calendar they then employed. My reasons are the following.

According to 1 Mac. xvi. 14—16 the high-priest Simon was murdered in the eleventh month, Shebet, of the year

¹ See pp. 202, 203.

² See the panegyric on the Roman sway, 1 Mac. viii. 1.

117 *Ær.* Seleucid. If the author reckoned this era from Nisan, 312 B.C., this date could not be placed before the beginning of the spring of 135 B.C. But Josephus tells us¹ that the sabbatical year began in the ensuing autumn. This reached from the autumn of 136 B.C. to that of 135 B.C. If we adopt Ideler's view, these two statements, it is clear, directly contradict one another. But if, on the other hand, we suppose that the author of the First Book of Maccabees made the era commence with January, 312 B.C., Shebet of 177 *Ær. Sel.* will fall in the spring of 136 B.C., and all follows regularly. Ideler is further obliged to have recourse to a second hypothesis, far from probable in itself, that the author of the Second Book of Maccabees dated the Seleucid Era from Tisri of 311 B.C. For he brings forward a letter, written in the reign of Antiochus Eupator, by the Syrian general Lysias, dated 24 Dioscorus, 148 *Ær. Sel.*, and two other letters, one from Eupator himself, and one from two Roman senators, dated 15th Xanthicus, 148 *Ær. Sel.*² Now since the first-named month, Dioscorus, came at all events before Xanthicus (Nisan), Ideler, as we shall presently see,³ is right in understanding it of the second Adar: it also, on the view that the author of the second book took as the epoch of the Seleucid era the ordinary date of the autumn of 312 B.C., came before Nisan, 164 B.C. But the author of the first book does not place the death of Antiochus Epiphanes⁴ before 149 *Ær. Sel.*, i.e. according to Ideler's views, not before Nisan, 164 B.C. To do away with this apparent contradiction, we need not, as Ideler does, have recourse to the notion that the era adopted in the second book has been dated backwards by a year; but it is far simpler to transfer the era of the first book from Tisri at once to Thebet (January) instead of to Nisan. For in that case we have an anomalous mode of dating in the one book only, and the apparent contradiction is likewise removed. Ideler's view also soon gets entangled in another fresh contradiction. The death of Nicanor is placed⁵ on the 13th of Adar, 151 *Ær. Sel.*, i.e. according to

¹ *Ant.* xiii. 8. 1. 2; cf. 7. 4.

² 2 *Mac.* xi. 21, 33, 38.

³ 1 *Mac.* vi. 16.

⁴ 2 *Mac.* xv. 37. Cf. xiv. 4.

⁵ *Hdb.* I. 399.

Ideler, in the spring of 160 B.C. But in the first book¹ we read that Nicanor died on the 13th of Adar, (according to my view) 152 Ær. Sel.; but, as Ideler cannot but hold (for it is not till 1 Mac. ix. 3 that the first month (Nisan) 152 Ær. Sel. is mentioned), in 151 Ær. Sel., i.e., according to his reckoning, in the spring of 161 B.C.; while, according to my view, both these dates fall in the same year, 161 B.C. Besides, the covenant which Eupator made with Judas Maccabeus² took place, as we have seen,³ in the sabbatical year which closed in the autumn of 163 B.C.⁴ This covenant is placed in the year 149 Ær. Sel.⁵ Now, if the Seleucid era were dated from Tisri, 311 B.C., that year would correspond to the period between the autumns of 163—162 B.C., and consequently would begin when that sabbatical year ended. We shall therefore have established that the First Book of Maccabees dates the Æra of the Seleucidæ from Thebet=January, and the Second from Tisri, 312 B.C.

I have already expressed the same view with regard to the epoch of the Æra of the Seleucidæ, in the First Book of Maccabees, in an earlier work,⁶ and that simply as the result of my interpretation of the Book of Daniel. I found, that according to Daniel, Epiphanes died in Shebet, 164 B.C.⁷ Now, since his death is placed in 1 Mac. vi. 16, in the 149th year of the Seleucid era, I came to the conclusion that this era must be dated not from Nisan, as Ideler states, but from Thebet=January, 312 B.C., since otherwise the above-mentioned year would not begin till Nisan, 164 B.C. The date of the death of Epiphanes may be fully established from the Books of Maccabees, and in

¹ 1 Mac. vii. 43, 49.

² 1 Mac. vi. 56—61.

³ See last page.

⁴ This same covenant is mentioned 2 Mac. xiii. 23, as is plain from a comparison of 1 Mac. vi. 57, 58 with 2 Mac. xiii. 23, and 1 Mac. vi. 49 with 2 Mac. xiii. 22.

⁵ 2 Mac. xiii. 1.

⁶ *Beiträge zur Auslegung u. Kritik*, p. 110 ff.

⁷ The correctness of this date is also confirmed by the ancient Jewish calendar given by Selden, *De Synedr.* iii. 245. This places the death of Epiphanes on the 29th of Shebet. It is probable that on this day the intelligence of his death reached Judea, for according to the Book of Daniel it took place in the first half of the month.

its turn vouches for the corresponding calculation in the Book of Daniel. According to 1 Mac. vi. 16, Epiphanes died 149 Ær. Sel., i.e. at earliest in Thebet, 164 B.C. After his death his successor Eupator had already written a letter to the Jews in Xanthicus, 148 Ær. Sel., i.e. in Nisan, 164 B.C.¹ The month Dioscorus, between Thebet and Xanthicus, mentioned 2 Mac. xi. 21, must, therefore, as Ideler and others have already on good grounds conjectured, have been the second Adar, and not the second Tisri of the Syrians, and Epiphanes must have died between the month Thebet and the second Adar of 164 B.C. In the following investigation with respect to the Chronicle of Eusebius and similar authors, who are evidently in error with regard to the just-quoted passages, I observe the fundamental principle of criticism, that where we possess the original native and far older sources of information, the others, and particularly Eusebius, especially in the present state of the text of the MSS., require to be used with caution. We now return to the quotations from Josephus.

The first question relates to the time when Antiochus VII., Sidetes, and the high-priest Hyrcanus were in the enjoyment of their power. John Hyrcanus succeeded to the office after the death of the high-priest Simon,² i.e. as we see from v. 14, after Shebet, 177 Ær. Sel., or³ in the spring of 136 B.C. His rule lasted thirty-one years from that time⁴ to the year 105 B.C. Antiochus ascended the throne in 174 Ær. Sel.=139 B.C.⁵ Many of his coins have come down to us, and the earliest that bear his image⁶ have in fact the date 174, and thus attest the commencement of his reign from 139 B.C. Porphyry in Eusebius⁷ assigns him nine complete years; consequently his last year corresponded to 130 B.C., when, according to Porphyry, he lost his life in an engagement with Arsaces, king of the Parthians, "instanti hieme." This conclusion is confirmed by the coins of Antiochus. The latest that bear his image

¹ 2 Mac. xi. 33.

² 1 Mac. xvi. 19 ff.

⁴ Ant. XIII. 10. 7.

⁶ Mionnet, *Description des Médailles Antiques*, tom. v. p. 73; tom. VIII. p. 42, etc.

⁷ *Chronic. Armenic.* ed. Aucher, pp. 349, 350.

³ See p. 433.

⁵ 1 Mac. xv. 10.

are of the year¹ 183 Ær. Sel., which begins with the autumn of 130 B.C. It follows, therefore, that the Feast of Pentecost, mentioned by Josephus, which occurred in the beginning of that Parthian war, must have fallen in the year 130 B.C.

We arrive at the same result by an examination of the regnal years of Demetrius II. Josephus records [*l. c.*] what has hitherto been overlooked, that Arsaces, king of the Parthians, released Demetrius from his imprisonment at the same time that Antiochus invaded his dominions.² This was done, doubtless, with the view of disturbing the enemy in his own land. The context proves that this enlargement of Demetrius must be placed in the spring of 130 B.C.; and the question now arises whether this date can be arrived at independently. Porphyry furnishes two notes of time for this release, viz. (1) the second year of the 162nd Olympiad, and (2) after Demetrius had been ten years in prison. The Pentecost of this Olympiad falls correctly in 130 B.C. Let us now pursue the enquiry as regards the ten years of the imprisonment. Demetrius undertook the march into the kingdom of Parthia on which he was taken prisoner in 172 Ær. Sel., i.e. 141 B.C.³ He must, however, have been placed in confinement in the course of the summer, and at any rate before the autumn of this year. For Mionnet adduces a coin⁴ of Antiochus without his image of the year 171 Ær. Sel., which was drawing to its close with the autumn of 141 B.C. Antiochus also⁵ at this time styles himself "king," although we see, from the First Book of Maccabees, that he did not obtain real sovereignty

¹ Mionnet, *u. s.* He even mentions a (doubtful) coin with the head of Antiochus of the year 184, for which he proposes to read 181. Inasmuch as coins of Antiochus are even to be found for the years 184—186, Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* III. 236, contrary to all historical testimony, assumed that Antiochus was not killed in the Parthian war, but having returned from it with Demetrius II., reigned over some parts of Syria. The fact, however, has been overlooked that these coins do not bear the head of Antiochus. This phenomenon is accounted for by Niebuhr, *Kleine Historische u. Philolog. Schriften*, I. 251, in a treatise on the general worth of the Chronicle of Eusebius in connection with the publication of the Armenian translation.

² *Ant.* XIII. 8. 4: Καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν Παρθύνην ἐνέβαλε.

³ 1 Mac. xiv. 1.

⁴ Tom. VIII. p. 56.

⁵ 1 Mac. xv. 1. Cf. 1 Mac. xiv. 27.

till two years afterwards. Now, if we reckon ten complete years from the summer or autumn of 141 B.C., or even from the Pentecost immediately following, we reach the spring of 130 B.C. Further, Porphyry¹ remarks, that Demetrius reigned four years after his return. Now, we have coins of his with his image up to the year 186, and without his image even to 187. Consequently, he would have returned in the spring of 182 Ær. Sel. or 130 B.C.

Finally, our view of the passage is confirmed by its immediate context.² Josephus is speaking of an expedition made by Antiochus VII. into Judea. The words run, Ἀντίοχος δὲ . . . εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐνέβαλε τετάρτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πρώτῳ δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἑκατοστῷ καὶ ἐξηκοστῷ καὶ δευτέρῳ. The present text is evidently corrupt. Neither the fourth year of Antiochus, nor the first of Hyrcanus, could have been identified by Josephus, who elsewhere defines the time of their reigns with perfect correctness, with the 162nd Olympiad. Besides, it would be impossible to speak of the 162nd year of an Olympiad, but of the 162nd Olympiad. I cannot

¹ It is remarkable that while Porphyry, as a rule, gives the length of the reigns of the Seleucidæ, and many separate dates from them, with perfect correctness, he is not unfrequently in error with regard to the beginning and end of their reigns. His error has been partially adopted (indeed much aggravated) by Eusebius, though much may be attributable to his transcribers and readers. (Cf. Niebuhr on this point.) This strange contradiction, however, becomes intelligible when we consider that the correct dates rest on extraneous authorities, the erroneous ones on a misconception of the era of the Seleucidæ in the books of Maccabees. For Porphyry, though a heathen philosopher, paid earnest attention to the Books of the Maccabees, as his commentary on Daniel proves. When once this is understood, it will be almost practicable to restore the original chronology from Porphyry. For example, in the present instance he makes the reign of Antiochus VII. last altogether nine years, from the fourth year of Ol. 960, "instante hieme," to the fourth year of Ol. 162. Now, since he does not, as a rule, calculate from the actual commencement of the reign, but from the first complete year of a sovereign (cf. Niebuhr, p. 249), he means from the latter part of the summer of 138 B.C. to the winter of 129 B.C., one sees that he is exactly a year in advance of the true date. His mistake arises from his acceptance of the 172nd year Ær. Sel. mentioned 1 Mac. xv. 10, which he reckons from Tisri, 312 B.C. Cf. my remarks on his statements regarding the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, *Beiträge zur Apokolypt. Litterat.* p. 113.

² *Ant.* xiii. 8. 2.

question that we ought to read τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ πρώτῳ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ἑξηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας.¹ Now all is as it should be. The expedition took place in 132 B.C. Since Jerusalem capitulated at the ensuing Feast of Tabernacles, its close must be placed in Tisri of that year. Now, those who place the invasion of Parthia by Antiochus VII., on which he was accompanied by Hyrcanus as an ally, in the spring of 131 B.C., lay great stress on this 162nd Olympiad. And yet there is not a word in the context of Josephus² to tell us that the latter expedition followed the former in the very next year, but the contrary is rather implied. Josephus concludes § 3 by stating that Antiochus had, on certain terms, to which Hyrcanus agreed, given up the siege and returned back (τὴν πολιορκίαν λύσας ἀνεχώρησεν). In § 4, he proceeds to relate that Hyrcanus took a mass of silver from the tomb of David, which he had opened, and by its means, for the first time among the Jewish rulers, maintained a force of foreign soldiers. Yet this does not sound as if it were a matter of several months. He goes on to say that he had also made an alliance (φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν) with Antiochus—the time is not expressed—and that on his second coming he received him with his army in the most friendly manner in the city, and then accompanied him on his campaign against the Parthians. In this campaign the two days of rest occurred at the time of Pentecost. The indirect note of time supplied by Josephus, that Demetrius was set at liberty simultaneously with the commencement of this Parthian campaign, has been already made use of by us in its proper place. As yet we can conclude no more from the immediate text of Josephus than that this campaign took place after the autumn of 132 B.C., and at any rate not several years after. We obtain a closer definition in the following way. Josephus tells us³ how Hyrcanus found means to employ the news of the death of Antiochus for the advantage of his country and kingdom. Among

¹ The dates are usually given by letters; in the present instance, therefore, we should find Ὀλυμπιάδος ρεβ'. The alteration proposed above is not, therefore, to be regarded at all as a conjecture, but merely as another interpretation of the numeral letters.

² Ant. XIII. 8. 3.

³ cap. 9.

other things, he had made application to Rome,¹ partly with the view of regaining the possessions and rights lost to Antiochus in the peace of the autumn of 132 B.C., and partly to assure himself of the protection of Rome for the immediate future. For the new ruler of Syria, Demetrius, threatened to invade his country in return for the aid he had afforded to his enemy. Josephus has also given us the letter of the Prætor Fanius, composed by commission of the senate, which tallies in both respects. In this it is expressly mentioned that the senate met with reference to this matter eight days before the Ides of February, under the presidency of the consuls Lucius Manlius and Caius Sempronius (πρὸ ὀκτὼ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων, παρόντος Λουκίου Μαννίου Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μεντινᾶ καὶ Γάτου Σεμπρονίου Γάτου υἱοῦ Φαλερνᾶ), i.e. on Feb. 6, 129 B.C. It is evident how admirably this notice agrees with our former conclusion, that Antiochus died in 130 B.C. "instante hieme."

We may now certainly safely affirm (and on this indeed all the succeeding calculations entirely depend), that the Pentecost which we have to determine more accurately occurred in 130 B.C. We may congratulate ourselves also that we can adduce the authority of such men as Niebuhr² and Anger³ in support of this view. Wurm, without wishing, in the midst of such variety of opinion, to declare decidedly in favour of any particular year, has according to the method adopted in his calculations, arrived at 15th of Nisan, 131 B.C., the year in which Riccioli among others has placed the Pentecost in question. He found the true new moon⁴ = Mar. 21, the 1st of Nisan after the phasis = Mar. 23, and the 15th of Nisan = Ap. 6. This last day in the given year fell on Sunday, and consequently, Wurm concludes, May 25 is the date of the Feast of Pentecost; 50 days subsequently was also a Sunday, i.e. ἑορτὴ μετὰ

¹ § 2.

² This acute scholar, notwithstanding the small data at his disposal, has defined the year of the death of Antiochus VII. with perfect correctness by the three following data: the third year of Ol. 162; 623 A.U.C.; 183 Ær. Sel. The years of Rome are calculated according to Cato.

³ Anger refers, in support of his view, to Livy, *Epitome*, Lib. LIX. and Orosius, v. 10.

⁴ More exactly Mar. 21, 11h. 46' evening.

σάββατον. An error has here slipped in, of which, however, too much is not to be made in the case of an astronomer who is not also skilled in the exegesis of the Old Testament. Wurm has reckoned the 50 days of Pentecost from the 15th of Nisan, while they ought to be reckoned from the 16th, the Feast of the Wave-sheaf. Now, if the 15th of Nisan fell in that year on a Sunday, Pentecost would have fallen on a Monday, and was not therefore an ἑορτὴ μετὰ σάββατον. We have therefore fortunately to find the Pentecost for the following year, 130 B.C.

Anger¹ has calculated the two new moons at the time of the vernal equinox of the last-named year. The former of the two fell on Mar. 11, 1 h. m., the latter on Ap. 9, 4 h. E. Now, if we apply Wurm's method to the former, the 1st of Nisan after the phasis=Mar. 12, and the 16th=Mar. 27. Now, since the 14th of Nisan could not have occurred before Mar. 25,² it follows that, in accordance with our previous remarks,³ the Passover had not yet been celebrated. But if the 1st of Nisan was determined by the later new moon, this after the phasis, according to Wurm's method,=Ap. 11, and the 16th Nisan=Ap. 26. But Ap. 26 in 130 B.C. fell on a Sunday, and consequently the Pentecost of that year also fell, as Josephus states, on a Sunday, and was therefore really ἑορτὴ μετὰ σάββατον.

(2) An ancient liturgical tradition of the Jews, which we have already examined and established,⁴ makes the 8th of Ab in 70 A.D. to have been a sabbath, i.e. a Saturday. Wurm from other data calculates the new moon of Nisan in that year, and finds that it fell on Mar. 30, the 1st of Nisan after the phasis on Ap. 1, and the 15th Nisan on Ap. 15. The 15th of Nisan=Ap. 15 in that year was a Sunday, and consequently the 8th of Ab was, as it should be, on Saturday.

(3) An inscription of the senate of the Jewish town of Berenice has been preserved to us.⁵ It contains a thankful

¹ p. 36.

² Julius Cæsar, as is well known, placed the vernal equinox in 45 B.C. or Mar. 25.

³ See p. 424.

⁴ See p. 134.

⁵ *Mus. Veron.* p. ccxxv. The town meant is Berenice, mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* VIII. 6. 4, situated on the Red Sea. In earlier times

acknowledgement of the humanity displayed by the Roman official, Marcus Titius (Μαρκος Τίττιος Σεξτου υιος) towards the Jews of the place. The date given in it is ετους νε φαωφ κε επι συλλογου της σκηνοπηγιας, i.e. "in the 35th year, the 25th of Phaoph, on the day of the assembly for the Feast of Tabernacles." Since we have here a Jewish date immediately connected with an Egyptian one, which may be determined independently, we can readily understand the attention that chronologists have always bestowed on this inscription, as yet, however, without due success.¹

Those who have examined it have usually started with the hypothesis, that by "the day of the assembly for the Feast of Tabernacles" we must understand the last day of the Feast, known as ΠΥΣ, i.e. the 22nd of Tisri of the Jewish calendar. By the era mentioned, but not more particularly defined, of which it was the 55th year, the era of Augustus is commonly understood. Indeed, on a superficial view, everything seems to lead to this, for Egypt was at that time a Roman province, and the monument was erected to a Roman functionary.

Wurm has subjected the interpretation of Petavius, Vignolles, Hervart, etc., to examination. These chronologists take the month Phaoph mentioned in the inscription for the corresponding month of the variable year of the Egyptians, and moreover place the commencement of the Alexandrine era of Augustus five years later than is usually assumed, viz. on the 1st of Thoth = Aug. 29, 25 B.C. On these suppositions Wurm finds this date at harmony with his method. For in 30 A.D., which would then correspond with the 55th year mentioned in the inscription, the 25th of the variable Phaoph fell on Oct. 9, and the 22nd of Tisri also on that day. Wurm, however, clearly saw that the fundamental hypothesis, the correct determination of the year, was untenable, and abandoned this interpretation without substituting any better for it.

this belonged to the Jewish kingdom, and even in later days a considerable number of Jews, as indeed its position would lead us to believe, must have settled there. That its position must be looked for in Egypt is also clear from the employment of the name of the Egyptian month Phaoph.

¹ Wurm, pp. 287—291, and Ideler, *Handb.* II. 615, have treated of it.

Ideler starts correctly enough with the supposition that by the 25th of Phaoph we must understand that day of the month of that name of the fixed Egyptian year which was most intimately connected with the introduction of the Alexandrine era of Augustus, *i.e.* Oct. 22. "If the 22nd of Tisri," to quote his own words, "corresponded to the 25th of Phaoph, the 1st of Tisri fell on Oct. 1 of the Julian Calendar." But since he dates the era of Augustus from Aug. 29, 30 B.C., while the 55th year, or 25 A.D., does not furnish the proper notes of time, according to Wurm the 22nd of Tisri this year fell on Oct. 3. He winds up with the remark, "the year specified in the inscription must therefore refer to some local era, the epoch of which can scarcely be determined."

This last view appears to me *à priori* improbable. At any rate the use of the era of Augustus had, as we learn from Dio Cassius,¹ been even established by law soon after his victory before the gates of Alexandria (Aug. 1, 30 B.C.), and for the purpose of spreading his glory in Egypt. Now, since this inscription was set up to a Roman official, it is the less probable that the *senatus consultum* promulgated on this point was infringed. Besides, Ideler's decision rests entirely on the supposition that the 55th year of the Egyptian era of Augustus corresponded to 25 A.D., and that again on the hypothesis that the era of this inscription was calculated from the 1st of Thoth, 30 B.C. Let us then investigate these two hypotheses.

Ideler, with a far greater knowledge of the facts than I have at command, has himself shewn² that the inhabitants of Alexandria endeavoured to carry the purport of the *senatus consultum* into execution so far as to make the 1st of Thoth, with which they commenced the next year (from Aug. 29, 30 B.C. to the same date 29 B.C.), the epoch of the Augustan era thus enjoined. In interpreting the inscription he has overlooked the fact that it related to a carrying out of this injunction on the part of a Jewish body corporate

¹ LL. 19. It is there recorded that the Roman senate in 30 B.C., among several other testimonies in honour of Augustus, decreed, *τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ἀλεξανδρεία ἐδόλω ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐπεὶτα ἐπ' ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν* (sc. τῶν Αἰγυπτίων) νομίζεσθαι.

² *Handb.* i. p. 155 ff.

in Egypt. If the Jews of that country desired to carry that *senatus consultum* into effect, they would not have taken the 1st of Thoth for the epoch of the Augustan era, for that was not the day on which they commenced their year, but either the first of Nisan, or, with the Romans, the 1st of January.¹ In either case the epoch of this era adopted by them coincided with 29 B.C., and the 25th of Phaoph of the 55th year answered to Oct. 22, 26 A.D.

After having in this way discovered, as I believed, the year in question, fully expecting thereby to confirm Wurm's theory, in order that I might proceed in my calculation with certainty, I requested the astronomer of this place, Dr. Stern, to do me the favour of calculating the astronomical new moon falling at the time of the vernal equinox of the year above named, 26 A.D. According to his calculations the two following new moons occurred at this period, the earlier in Mar. 7, 9h. 17m. E., the latter Ap. 6. 6h. 41m. M. Now, since a sabbatical year happened in the autumn of 26 A.D., or 779 A.U.C.,² an intercalation would be made before Nisan in accordance with the rule given above.³ Consequently the second new moon would have fixed the "new moon" of Nisan. The 1st of Nisan therefore fell in this year on Ap. 7, the 15th on Ap. 21, the 15th of Tisri on Oct. 15, and consequently the 22nd of Tisri actually on Oct. 22, or the 25th of Phaoph.

(4) The writer of the Acts of the Apostles has, from the point where he for the second time became a companion of the Apostle Paul, i.e. from Philippi, in which town he celebrated the Passover occurring at that time,⁴ described the Apostle's last journey to Jerusalem with so much accuracy as to enable us, by the help of some combinations, to determine the very day of the Passover.⁵

We see from Acts xx. 6 that Paul set out from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, i.e. after the 21st of

¹ We have pointed out an instance of the Jews calculating an era from January from the First Book of Maccabees, p. 434. There is this difference, that the era used was originally Roman, and ordained by the Romans.

² See p. 203.

³ p. 422.

⁴ Acts xx. 6.

⁵ Anger has also given a very thorough investigation of this subject, pp. 106—113

Nisan. He spent five days on his passage to Troas, and there remained seven days. Twelve days in all had therefore elapsed before he left Troas. The last day of his sojourn there was a Sunday,¹ from which it follows that he must have left Philippi on a Wednesday. On account of the unusual haste with which he travelled (for notwithstanding his forebodings of approaching death,² he did not even visit his beloved Ephesus, but appointed the elders of the Church of that place to meet him at Miletus, "for he hasted if it were possible (*εἰ δυνατόν ἦν αὐτῷ*) to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost," v. 16) he must have left Philippi one, or at most two days, after the 21st of Nisan. On this hypothesis the 15th of Nisan would at that time have fallen on a Wednesday,³ or one day earlier, on Tuesday.

It may, however, be shewn that of these two possible days the latter was the true one. For by the help of the narrative of the Acts, we can reckon with perfect accuracy the number of days which elapsed between the Apostle's departure and the succeeding Pentecost, and since this was 50 days after the 16th of Nisan, we can in this way, of course, determine also the 15th of Nisan.

As far as regards the interval between the departure of Paul from Troas, and his departure from Cæsarea for Jerusalem, I am entirely at one with Anger. It must have, at least, occupied 27 days. Four of these days must be taken for the journey to Miletus.⁴ The voyage from Trogyllium in the island of Samos to Miletus being so short,⁵ Paul

¹ Acts xx. 7.

² Acts xx. 25, 38.

³ I have assumed (*supra*, p. 343, where however I have referred to this Excursus) that the 15th of Nisan fell on this occasion on a Wednesday, and have made use of this passage as a proof that there was nothing in the arrangements of the Jewish calendar in our Lord's days to prevent its falling on that day. This is Anger's view. I am, however, delighted to see that, as I shall proceed to shew, this passage only affords a proof of the correctness of Wurm's theory of the calculation of the phases of the moon in its strictest acceptation, according to which the 15th of Nisan must have occurred a day earlier, *i.e.* on Tuesday. The whole bearing of this Excursus goes to prove that the 15th of Nisan could not at that period fall on a Wednesday. Cf. however Tract סוכה, ch. 4, § 3, ch. 5, §§ 7, 8, etc.

⁴ Acts xx. 13—15.

⁵ ["The distance is about 17½ nautical miles. If the vessel sailed

might have arrived in that city by noon on the fourth day. Now, if he sent the message to Ephesus,¹ which was about nine German miles distant,² soon after his arrival, the elders of the Church, if they set out soon after receiving the intelligence, might have reached Miletus and held their interview with Paul on the second day. We consequently obtain two more days to be added to the above-mentioned four days for Paul's stay at Miletus. From thence, we see from Acts xxi. 1, he required three days to reach Patara. From Patara to Tyre we have to reckon five days,³ while in Tyre itself he stayed seven days, that is entire days, as is plain from the word *ἐξαπίσαι*. From Tyre he went to Ptolemais, which, as Anger remarks, "tam parum distabat, ut ante meridiem hanc urbem intrare possent." Here they remained one day, v. 7. We shall only reckon a single day for the journey to Ptolemais and his stay there. On the next day, i.e. the twenty-third from leaving Troas, they entered Cæsarea,⁴ where they remained, v. 10, *ἡμέρας πλείους*, an expression which must point out at least a three-days' halt. And therefore Paul could not at the very earliest have set out from Cæsarea for Jerusalem before the 27th day after leaving Troas. But Paul cannot have set out on this day, and these *ἡμέραι πλείονες*, as indeed *prima facie* appears more likely, must point out a sojourn of at least four days. For since, according to Acts xx. 7, the last day of his stay at Troas was a Sunday, the 27th day after he left Troas must have been a sabbath. Now it is in the highest degree improbable that Paul should have set out on his journey to Jerusalem in the midst of a Jewish province on a sabbath, since the punishment for such a violation of the sabbath in the case

from Trogylgium at 6 a.m. she would easily be in harbour at 9." Conybeare and Howson, II. 220, note 3.—Tr.]

¹ v. 17.

² [According to Dr. Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, II. 220, the distance between the two cities was "hardly thirty miles," and they were connected by a good road.—Tr.]

³ This is the time given by Chrysostom, who was intimately acquainted with the localities in question, *Homil. in Act.* 45. He is followed by Anger. Hug reckons six days. [Dr. Howson thinks 48 hours amply sufficient, II. 233—34.—Tr.]

⁴ Acts xxi. 8.

of a Jew was death. Besides, this is also expressly excluded by the terms of the narrative. For not only is there no mention at all of any such breach of the sabbath in the accusation brought against him by his bitter enemies among the Jews, but Paul himself repeatedly asserts his freedom from guilt as regards the law of Moses.¹ We must therefore allow at least twenty-seven days between the Apostle's leaving Troas and the end of his sojourn at Cæsarea. So far I perfectly agree with Anger. Henceforward I must go on my way alone.

Between the Apostle's leaving Cæsarea for Jerusalem and Pentecost, three or, if the feast be included, four days elapsed. The journey to Jerusalem, between 13 and 14 German miles² distant, must have taken, even if made as rapidly as possible, nearly two days. The day after his arrival, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ, i.e. on the third day, Paul "went in unto James."³ The next day, τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, i.e. on the fourth day, which was the day of Pentecost,⁴ Paul was apprehended in the temple.

We have therefore the following notes of time. From the 16th of Nisan (incl.), from which πεντηκοστή was calculated, to the day of Paul's leaving Philippi (a Wednesday) there elapsed, since he started certainly after the close of the Easter Feast,⁵ at least six days. Between his leaving Troas and the end of his stay in Cæsarea at least twenty-seven days; the twenty-seventh being a Saturday, i.e. a sabbath. Between his leaving Cæsarea

¹ Acts xxiv. 12 ff. Cf. xxiii. 6 ff. Phil. iii. 6.

² The *Itinerar. Hierosolymit.* gives 68 Roman miles, i.e. about 13 German miles. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 11. 2, *De Bell. Jud.* i. 3. 5, 600 stadia, or 15 German miles. Variations of this kind, especially in the distances of places further off from one another, are of every day occurrence.

³ Acts xxi. 18.

⁴ The note of time, Acts xxi. 27, ὡς ἐμελλον αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι συντελεῖσθαι, which, as far as my knowledge goes, is universally misunderstood, I take, as will be more fully shewn below, as referring to the Feast of Pentecost. The context of the narrative, which in other respects is so precise, and the reference to it, Acts xx. 16, lead us *a priori* to look for an express mention of this feast. Who on reading the whole, is not inclined to enquire, "With all his haste did Paul really get to the Feast of Pentecost or not?"

⁵ Acts xx. 6.

and Pentecost (incl.) four days. Now $6 + 12 + 27 + 4$ make 49 days. We are therefore still one day deficient to make up the fifty days required for Pentecost; and this we see from our above investigation must be inserted either between the end of the Easter Festival and Paul's departure from Philippi, or immediately before his journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. But, since Wednesday was certainly the day of his leaving Philippi, the 15th of Nisan in that year fell in the first case on a Tuesday, in the second on a Wednesday. Thus much, then, is at any rate already made clear, that in that year the 15th of Nisan must have fallen either on a Wednesday or a Tuesday, which, as we saw above,¹ was *à priori* probable.

Let us examine the second alternative proposed, viz. that this single deficient day is to be inserted immediately before Paul's journey from Cæsarea. This would take for granted that Paul had continued in Cæsarea over the 28th day after his leaving Troas. This was a Sunday. It may appear reasonable enough that Paul, after having tarried in Cæsarea for the sabbath, set out with his immediate companions on the first day of the week to Jerusalem, with the view of reaching the city a little before the feast. But this probability is no strict proof. This, however, I hope to be able also to supply.

We have seen that the last day of Paul's sojourn in Cæsarea must have been either a Saturday or a Sunday, and we have now to enquire whether the latter is not perhaps the more probable. In this case Paul set out for Jerusalem on a Monday.

Now we read in Acts xxiv. 11,² that Paul when a prisoner, in his defence before Felix against the Nasi Ananias, who with his party had followed him to Cæsarea to accuse him there, reckons twelve days from the day that he went up to Jerusalem, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, cf. Acts xxi. 15. The day of Paul's leaving was therefore the thirteenth day from his leaving Cæsarea. The point in question being his departure from Cæsarea, the Apostle, to prove the veracity of his statements, very

¹ p. 444.

² Δυναμένου σου (Felix is addressed) ἐπιγινῶναι ὅτι οὐ πλείονες εἰσὶ μοι ἡμέραι δεκαδύο, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

suitably makes this addition, that Felix might know its precise day: for since the trial was being held in Cæsarea itself, nothing could be easier than to make this enquiry. These twelve days mentioned by Paul may be made good from the narrative. Two days for his journey to Jerusalem: the third day his interview with James: ¹ the fourth day (πεντηκοστή), the apprehension of Paul in the temple, which he had entered for the purpose of offering sacrifice: ² the fifth day the meeting of the Sanhedrim: ³ the sixth his day journey to Cæsarea: ⁴ the seventh day his arrival at Cæsarea, and his being placed in "Herod's judgment-hall": ⁵ the twelfth day, i.e. five days afterwards, the journey of Ananias from Jerusalem: ⁶ the thirteenth day, Ananias' arrival in Cæsarea and Paul's hearing before Felix.⁷ The chronology of this section, which is so plainly traced out in the passages already discussed, has been misconceived, simply from a fancied necessity of interpreting "the seven days" mentioned in Acts xxi. 27, of a seven-days' Nazaritic vow undertaken by the Apostle. Now, to bring out the twelve days on this hypothesis, we must either, contrary to Acts xxiv. 11 (cf. xxi. 15), make Paul's arrival in Jerusalem, or with Anger even the next day, the *terminus a quo* from which they are calculated. We must interpret the seven days as five days, reckon the five days, Acts xxiv. 1, in violation of the natural connection, from another terminus than the Apostle's arrival in Cæsarea, and besides, make them end with Ananias' arrival in Cæsarea, etc.⁸ All this is very natural. For the seven days and the five days added together make up the twelve days required. And yet it furnishes a significant hint, that the seven days can hardly have been in-

¹ Acts xxi. 18—25.

² vv. 21, 22, 29.

³ Acts xxii. 30—xxiii. 11.

⁴ Acts xxiii. 12—31.

⁵ vv. 32—35.

⁶ Acts xxiv. 1: Μετὰ δὲ πέντε ἡμέρας κατέβη ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας, "And after five days Ananias the high priest descended" from Jerusalem to Cæsarea. Here too it has been overlooked that if Ananias started from Jerusalem on the fifth day, he could not have been in Cæsarea and accused Paul on the same day.

⁷ Acts xxiv. 1—23.

⁸ Cf. the summary of the different views given by De Wette and Meyer *in loc.*

tended by the author to signify a seven-days' Nazaritic vow, at the close of which the period of his imprisonment commenced.

The notion of Paul's having undertaken a seven-days' Nazaritic vow,¹ which appears to have very little *per se* in its favour, had its origin in the difficulty felt in giving a suitable explanation of the seven days set down without any further specification, and since a little before,² "the days of purification" were mentioned, these seven days were at once interpreted of them, and so Paul's seven-days' Nazaritic vow was obtained. A seven-days' Nazaritic vow? This, as De Wette has already remarked, is quite out of all rule. The shortest period mentioned in any part of the Talmud³ for a Nazaritic vow is thirty days, while a man might be a Nazarite for his whole life. The fundamental passage in the Pentateuch also certainly gives a period of this length as at any rate the shortest measure of the vow.⁴ For we there find that if a Nazarite's vow was interrupted by a specified pollution, a seven-days' purification was imposed on him, at the close of which he had to recommence his vow *ab initio*. It appears out of keeping that this interruption of the vow should last as long as the vow itself. Besides, the hair, the mark of a Nazarite, could not have grown to any length in seven days. And further, there is no intimation in the narrative that Paul took a Nazaritic vow upon himself. The "purification," ἀγνίσεσθαι,⁵ is to be understood of that which, according to the law, preceded all religious duties, especially the celebration of a festival,⁶ and even the ordinary meals.⁷ The words of James that immediately follow, καὶ δαπάνησον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἵνα ξυρήσωνται τὴν κεφαλὴν, "be at charges with them⁸ that they may shave their

¹ Cf. the passages of the Law, Numb. vi. 1—21, and the Tract נזיר Bähr, *Symbolik*, II. 416 ff., 430 ff., Winer, *R. W. B.* "Naziräer."

² Acts xxi. 26.

³ Cf. Tract נזיר, ch. 1, § 3.

⁴ Numb. vi. 9.

⁵ Acts xxi. 24—26, xxiv. 18.

⁶ 1 Sam. xvi. 5, 2 Mac. xii. 38, Ex. xix. 10, Joh. xi. 55.

⁷ Mar. vii. 2—4.

⁸ The Jews considered it a meritorious act to undertake the necessary expenses for the Nazarites. These consisted not merely in the necessary sacrifices and gifts, but also in free-will offerings,

heads," express no more than the counsel that Paul should incur the Nazaritic expenses for others. On the following day, τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, Paul adopts this advice.¹ He takes the four men commended to him by James, purifies himself with them in the above-named sense, and enters with them into the temple, διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ, ἕως οὗ προσηνέχθη ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἡ προσφορά, "to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them." Therefore the day after James had given him this counsel, the Nazaritic vow of these four men was accomplished, and the sacrifice connected with the cutting of their long hair was offered for them, with which, as was well known, the vow terminated. It was Paul who "signified the accomplishment" of their vow, because it was he who "was at charges with them." Now, if his name was not made known to the priests, the whole proceeding missed its aim. It appears also to be involved in the very nature of the case, that the part taken by the person who underwent the necessary expenses on each occasion, by that very act constituted such an announcement. We cannot conceive that Paul took no part in the transaction, for if so, why should he have gone into the temple at all? The words ἕως οὗ evidently refer to εἰσῆλθαι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. Paul went into the temple to remain there only until the necessary offerings were made for each of the four Nazarites. When this was completed, he would leave it again. This, however, unhappily did not come to pass. Therefore we read, v. 27, "When the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him." I trust I have made it already sufficiently plain that "the seven days" are not to be understood of the days of the Nazaritic vow either of Paul or of the four men for whom he made the offerings. It is also expressly said, Acts xxiv. 17, 18, that Paul's

which were looked upon with satisfaction, Numb. vi. 21. If Paul was not disposed to take part in the Old Testament offerings for himself individually, he could only do it in the form of contributions to the offerings for others.

¹ Acts xxi. 26.

apprehension and this offering took place on the same day,¹ to which also, as we have seen, the whole context leads. This further teaches us, that the termination of the seven days which was in process of being accomplished, must give the special reason why even Jews from Asia saw the Apostle at that time in the temple. These seven days must therefore certainly indicate the period of a feast, in this place therefore the Feast of Pentecost; a conjecture the *à priori* probability of which we have already deduced from the general connection of the passage.

We must therefore understand the "seven days" of six days of preparation before Pentecost, the feast itself forming the last concluding day. We have sufficient historical warrant for the existence of these days of preparation before the three great feasts, and the day of atonement.² According to Tract *מנח*, they preceded the day of atonement. According to Josephus³ the people gathered together on the eighth of Xanthicus (= Nisan) before the feast of unleavened bread. It is also plain that this time belonged in a certain sense to the feast of unleavened bread, from the fact Josephus immediately continues, "At the same feast, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτήν, this and that happened." In this reference the fact mentioned by Josephus⁴ has very great weight, that the high priest seven days before the feast received the *στολή* kept in the castle of Antonia, to return it one day after it. That is, the high priest received his official attire one day before he had to use it, to send it back again one day after the festival period in which it was used. It is added, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπράσσετο τρισὶν ἑορταῖς ἐκάστου ἑτοῦς καὶ τῇ νηστείᾳ. By

¹ However, therefore, the *ἐπτά ἡμέραι* may be interpreted, our interpretation of the twelve days mentioned Acts xxiv. 11 will not be disturbed.

² Otherwise one might venture on the conjecture *αἱ ἐπτά ἐβδομάδες* or *αἱ ἐβδομάδες*. *Ἐβδομάδες* might be easily altered into *ἡμέραι*, if the time which was specified as terminated was understood to refer to the Nazaritic vow of the four men, or of Paul's. For in the preceding verse the subject was days, *ἡμέρας*, not weeks of *ἀγνισμός*. The admissibility of a conjecture in this passage is increased by the existence of various readings, although in my opinion a satisfactory sense can be elicited from *ἐπτά ἡμέρας*.

³ *De Bell. Jud.* vi. 5. 3.

⁴ *Ant.* xviii. 4. 3.

the three festivals, the Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles are meant. At a subsequent period, when the 9th of Ab was celebrated as a holy feast-day, the period immediately preceding this day was also distinguished as holy.¹ A seven-days' celebration of Pentecost, which is to be explained in the sense above given, is also recognized in the Talmudical tradition.²

But whatever sense we attribute to "the seven days" which cause so much difficulty, so much appears established, that by the day on which they were to come to an end, we are to understand Pentecost or the Feast of Weeks. The phrase *συντελείσθαι* suits this admirably. *Συμπληροῦσθαι* is also used of the Feast of Pentecost in Acts ii. 1. And in conclusion, it is in harmony with this that the vow of these four men came to end exactly on this day. For the three high festivals,³ the Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles, were, on very intelligible grounds, a usual period for the termination of a Nazaritic vow.

Having now, as we believe, firmly established the chronology of the section Acts xxi. 15—xxiv. 23, and that on the view that the twelve days mentioned by Paul⁴ are to be counted from his leaving Cæsarea, and that Paul was apprehended in the temple on the fourth day after that, and on the second after his arrival at Jerusalem, being the Feast of Pentecost, we revert to the argument which was interrupted at p. 447. We were then desirous of investigating whether Paul did not remain a day longer in Cæsarea after that sabbath, and therefore may not perhaps have left that city for Jerusalem till Monday. Now, if we assume this, the accusation of Paul by the members of the Jewish Sanhedrim before a heathen tribunal, which took place on the 13th day after his departure from Cæsarea, must be placed on a sabbath, and Ananias with his companions must have set out on their journey on a Friday, to finish it after the commencement of the sabbath. The former may excite a suspicion;⁵ the latter,

¹ Tract חגיגה, ch. 4, § 7.

² Cf. Tract חגיגה, ch. 3, § 6, and on this the *Gemara Hierosolymit.*

³ Tract נדרים, ch. 8, §§ 8, 9.

⁴ Acts xxiv. 11.

⁵ On religious grounds a Jew shrunk from being tried before a heathen tribunal on a sabbath, a scruple to which, at the time of the

on account of the sanctity of the sabbath, especially in the eyes of a Nasi of the great Sanhedrim, who would have laid special stress on its due observance, is altogether impossible. But if, on the other hand, we assume that Paul left Cæsarea on Sunday, Ananias commenced his journey on Thursday, and Paul's trial would have been held on Friday, which is quite *en règle*. Now if Sunday is the only day, neither sooner nor later, on which Paul can have left Cæsarea for Jerusalem, it follows that this one day which remains over of the fifty days of Pentecost, must be interpolated between the end of the Paschal Feast, and Paul's departure from Philippi. From which it follows,¹ of absolute necessity, on the one hand, that the fourth day after the Apostle left Cæsarea, *πεντηκοστή*, was a Wednesday; and on the other hand, that the 15th of Nisan in that year was a Tuesday.

I cannot, without being prolix, enter on the proofs of the year of the Apostle's imprisonment having been 58 A.D. I must refer my reader for this to the work of Anger. On the other hand, the agreement of the astronomical and chronological datum here investigated by us must, if the correctness of our theory be allowed, furnish a decisive confirmation of it.

If we assume that the year 58 A.D. was an ordinary year, the astronomical new moon which determined the 1st of Nisan was on Mar. 13, 6 p.m., the 1st of Nisan, according to the phasis on Mar. 14, and the 15th of Nisan on Mar. 28, and this last day was really, as Luke represents in the Acts, on Tuesday.²

(5) and (6). The last two years of our Lord's public ministry, 29 A.D. = 782 A.U.C. and 30 A.D. = 783 A.U.C., have all the astronomical and chronological notes which ought

Roman dominion, proper attention was paid. It was another thing for a Jew to be tried before his own tribunal on a sabbath, or when he was driven by necessity to appear before a heathen judgment-seat.

¹ From this we obtain a new proof of the very great caution with which the Apostle's journey to Cæsarea was effected. For he started after the beginning of the *sabbath*, at the third hour after sunset, Acts xxiii. 23.

² We are now able to determine the other facts in the portion of the Acts under consideration with ease. Paul, *e.g.* was apprehended on the day of Pentecost, May 17, 58 A.D., a Wednesday.

to distinguish them according to the Table on p. 427. In the year 29 A.D. the 15th of Nisan really fell on a Monday. For on no other supposition could the Feast of Purim have fallen on a Saturday,¹ nor could the interval between Purim and the first sabbath of the Jewish year have been long enough (three weeks) to bring in all that is related by the Synoptists in the corresponding passage,² nor could this first sabbath have fallen on the 6th of Nisan, so that the next day, 7th of Nisan, was again a feast-day,³ or the 13th, on a Saturday, assumptions that appear to be rendered necessary by the text of the Synoptists arranged in chronological harmony with the Gospel of John:⁴ nor finally, could the 18th of Tisri have been a Saturday.⁵ Besides, the 15th of Nisan in 30 A.D. fell really on a Friday, for it was in this year, and on a Friday, that our Lord was crucified.⁶ These two dates, however, we may remark, have all the more weight, since they relate to two years immediately succeeding one another; so that the correctness of the one date vouches for that of the other, and conversely.

These are the instances which enable us to determine the day of the month and week of the 15th of Nisan for six distinct years, in the period shortly before the destruction of the second temple. I have been unable to discover any more, in spite of the very considerable care and labour I have bestowed on the search. Perhaps no more are to be discovered, unless the investigations now so diligently carried on in Egypt and Palestine bring to light fresh inscriptions with fixed notes of time in which a Jewish date is made to synchronize with a foreign one. This, however, is a chronological determination which, from the nature of the case, will very seldom occur. Still I must acknowledge myself convinced that Wurm's *à priori* theory for determining the 1st of Nisan in the Jewish year, which rests on the general character of the year as determined by historical testimony, and is entirely independent of the above examples which he was either unacquainted with, or was unable to fix their proper year, has exactly

¹ Joh. v. 9.² Cf. pp. 234, 282.³ Cf. pp. 234, 235.⁴ Cf. p. 283.⁵ Cf. p. 319.⁶ p. 325.

hit the mark. For the whole of these examples, collected from the most different parts of the period in question, agree most remarkably in confirming it. Even if the Talmud, which was not composed till a later period, furnished a real or apparent contradiction to this theory, it would be necessary in the first place to prove the existence of this contradiction more carefully than has ever yet been done, and if, after all, its existence could be demonstrated, the question would arise, with what degree of justice the statements of the Talmud on the form of the Jewish year in earlier times, which have only reached us by tradition, should be exempted from all and every form of historical criticism, to which we deem ourselves not only entitled but obliged to subject its statements on other matters belonging to our Lord's days and earlier times. Moreover, it appears an established fact that the later Jewish year, which was fixed during the period of the composition of the Talmud, proceeded on essentially modified principles, and we have, we think, proved this from what is stated in the Talmud itself.

It cannot be doubted that in our Lord's time the Jews must already have had a period of years by which they endeavoured to make their lunar year correspond more perfectly with their solar year. My wish, however, as has been already remarked, has been to furnish no more than the necessary materials for the establishment and closer determination of this period. Let this hint, then, suffice. It appears in keeping with the Jewish spirit that at any rate before the destruction of the temple, when the sabbatical year and the sabbatical cycle were still in practical use, they should have employed the sabbatical cycle as the foundation of such a period. Conformably to this conjecture, the employment by the Jews of a period of 84 years, made up of the number 7, and 12 the number of the Jewish tribes, subsequently to the time of the Maccabees, can be proved by documentary evidence.¹

Now, whether Wurm's theory in its strictest acceptance can lay claim to universal acceptance or not, so much, however, I think may be proved by the help of the Gospels,

¹ Cf. *Ben David*, p. 34 ff.

that it is confirmed at least for the years 29 and 30 A.D., and that consequently those two years must have been the last two years of our Lord's public ministry.

If we consult the Table at p. 427, for the new moon of Nisan, setting 34 A.D. entirely on one side as decidedly too late, the only two years besides that adopted by us, 30 A.D., which can come into consideration as those in which the Passover immediately preceding the death of Christ can have been celebrated, in accordance with their astronomical notes of time, are the years 31 A.D. or 33 A.D.: the year 31 A.D. if it was an intercalary year, 33 A.D. if an ordinary year. The former year has been adopted by several modern investigators, *e.g.* Anger and Paulus. Eusebius¹ among others makes the latter year that of our Lord's death.

Let us first investigate whether it is possible for our Lord to have been crucified in 31 A.D. This presupposes that it was an intercalary year. The astronomical new moon which determined the 1st of Nisan fell on April 10, 2 P.M., the first of Nisan after the phasis on April 12, and consequently the 15th of Nisan on April 26. This, however, was a Thursday, not a Friday. At any rate, it was so according to Wurm's theory, verified by all the examples which have come down to us of the form of the Jewish calendar in our Lord's days. But if we assume in favour of the year in question that the 1st of Nisan of that year did not occur till the third day after the astronomical new moon, the 15th of Nisan would have fallen on a Friday, and certainly not on a Saturday.

Irrespective of any theory on the subject, the idea must be rejected that the 1st of Nisan could have fallen on the fourth day after the astronomical new moon. For in this case there would have been months sometimes of from 31

¹ Evidently as favouring the Western side of the Easter Controversy, whose later champions (*cf.* p. 356) started on the hypothesis that Jesus was crucified on the 14th of Nisan, a Friday. Eusebius is otherwise well known as a supporter of this side. For in 34 A.D., if it was an ordinary year, the 14th of Nisan was really a Friday, and in connection with this the Alexandrine Easter Table, given by Ideler, II. 199, *cf.* 232 ff., probably proceeding from Eusebius, which is carried back as far as 34 A.D., gives Sunday, Ap. 5, as the date of the festival of the resurrection of Christ.

to 32 days, and again, others of from 27 to 28 days, while, especially for our Lord's days, nothing is more certain than that the Jewish months never contained less than 29, nor more than 30 days. Anger,¹ therefore, cannot be justified when, although he makes 31 A.D. to have been the year of our Lord's death, he nevertheless expresses the opinion that He was crucified on the 14th of Nisan, and that as far as the astronomical and calendaric notes of time are concerned, it matters nothing whether He was crucified on the 14th or the 15th. On the contrary, as Eusebius clearly perceived, it necessarily follows, if we pay attention to the calendar, that if our Lord was crucified on the 14th of Nisan, and on a Friday, His death must be placed in 33 A.D. Irrespective of the day of the week of the 15th of Nisan, the assumption of 31 A.D. is opposed by every one of the conclusions we believe we have established with regard to the time of the Baptist's imprisonment, and of our Lord's protracted ministry in Galilee that followed thereupon; with regard also to the strict synchronism of the four Evangelists which displays itself generally in our Synopsis, and the *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον* which, on the one hand, fell in the year preceding our Lord's death, and, on the other hand,² in the second year of a sabbatical cycle; and finally, by the fact that the 15th of Nisan of the last year but one of our Lord's public ministry, 30 A.D., did not, as the Gospels seem to require, fall on a Monday.

As regards the year 33 A.D. as that of our Lord's death, the 15th of Nisan of the preceding year, 32 A.D., certainly fell on a Monday. The notion, however, which might have given, nay really did give rise to the decisive opinion in favour of this year, that our Lord's death took place in a year in which the 14th of Nisan fell on a Friday, is founded on the hypothesis of a discrepancy between the Evangelists as to the year of our Lord's death, which we cannot admit. But the hypothesis that our Lord was crucified on the 15th of Nisan, and on a Friday, would not accord with the idea of 33 A.D. having been the year of our Lord's death, while the other chronological data of the Gospels would prove even less favourable to 33 A.D. than to

¹ p. 30² See p. 232.

31 A.D. For instance, it would then follow from John's Gospels, that our Lord had passed at least six Passovers during his public ministry. For, as was proved above,¹ the first Passover mentioned by John, ch. ii. 13, must, in accordance with v. 26, have occurred in 781 A.U.C., 28 A.D.

The only alternative left, therefore, appears to be that our Lord was crucified in the year 30 A.D., 783 A.U.C., 4743 Per. Jul., on the 15th of Nisan, a Friday.

*Table of Jewish Festivals from 1 Nisan 28 A.D., 781 A.U.C. to
21 Nisan 30 A.D., 783 A.U.C.*

A.D.	DAY OF MONTH.		DAY OF WEEK.	FESTIVAL
	Jewish Calendar.	Julian Calend.		
28	Nisan 1	March 16	Tu.	New Year's Day (beginning of Jewish Year).
	5	20	Sa.	σάββατον πρῶτον.
	7	22	M.	End of New Year's Festival.
	{14	29	M.}	ἡμέραι ² τῶν ἁγίων.
	{21	April 5	M.}	
	30	14	W.	
	Ijar 1	15	Th.	New Moon.
	14	28	W.	Second Passover.
	29	May 13	Th.	
	Sivan 1	14	F.	New Moon.
	6	19	W.	Pentecost.
	30	June 12	Sa.	
	Thammuz 1	13	S.	New Moon.
	29	July 11	S.	
	-Ab 1	12	M.	New Moon.
	30	Aug. 10	Tu.	
	Elul 1	11	W.	New Moon.
	29	Sept. 8	W.	
	Tisri 1	9	Th.	New Moon.
	10	18	Sa.	Day of Atonement.
	{15	23	Th.}	Feast of Tabernacles.
	{21	29	W.}	
	22	30	Th.	End of Feast of Tabernacles.
	30	Oct. 8	F.	

¹ pp. 166, 167.

² Passover on evening of 14th, first feast-day on 15th, wave-sheaf on 16th.

Table of Jewish Festivals, continued.

A.D.	DAY OF MONTH.		DAY OF WEEK.	FESTIVAL.
	Jewish Calendar.	Julian Calend.		
28	Marchesvan 1	Oct. 9	Sa.	New Moon.
	29	Nov. 6	Sa.	
	Kisleu 1	7	S.	New Moon.
	25	Dec. 1	W.	Feast of Dedication.
	30	6	M.	
29	Thebet 1	7	Tu.	New Moon.
	2	8	W.	End of Feast of Dedication.
	29	Jan. 4	Tu.	
	Shebet 1	5	W.	New Moon.
	30	Feb. 3	Th.	
	Adar 1	4	F.	New Moon.
	30	March 5	Sa.	
	Veadar 1	6	S.	New Moon.
	13	18	F.	Day of Nicanor.
	14	19	Sa.	Purim.
	29	April 3	S.	End of Jewish year.
				(Leap Year of 384 days).
	Nisan 1	4	M.	New Year's Day.
	6	9	Sa.	σάββατον δευτέρῳ πρωτον.
	7	10	S.	End of New Year's Festival.
	{14	17	{S.}	ἡμέραι τ. ἀζύμων.
	{21	24	{S.}	
	30	May 3	Tu.	
	Ijar 1	4	W.	New Moon.
	14	17	Tu.	Second Passover.
	29	June 1	W.	
	Sivan 1	2	Th.	New Moon.
	6	7	Tu.	Pentecost.
	30	July 1	F.	
	Thammuz 1	2	Sa.	New Moon.
	29	30	Sa.	
	Ab 1	31	S.	New Moon.
	30	Aug. 29	M.	
	Elul 1	30	Tu.	New Moon.
	29	Sept. 27	Tu.	
	Tisri 1	28	W.	New Moon.
	10	Oct. 7	F.	Day of Atonement.
	{15	12	{W.}	Feast of Tabernacles.
	{21	18	{Tu.}	
	22	19	W.	End of Feast of Tabernacles
	30	27	Th.	
	Marchesvan 1	28	F.	New Moon.
	29	Nov. 25	F.	
	Kisleu 1	26	Sa.	New Moon.

Table of Jewish Festivals, continued.

A.D.	DAY OF MONTH.		DAY OF WEEK.	FESTIVAL.
	Jewish Calendar.	Julian Calend		
29	Kisleu	25 Dec. 20	Tu.	Feast of Dedication.
		30 25	S.	
	Thebet	1 26	M.	New Moon.
		2 27	Tu.	End of Feast of Dedication.
30	Shebet	29 Jan. 23	M.	New Moon.
		1 24	Tu.	
	Adar	30 Feb. 22	W.	New Moon.
		1 23	Th.	
		13 March 7	Tu.	Day of Nicanor.
		14 8	W.	Purim.
		29 23	Th.	End of Jewish Year.
				(An ordinary year of 354 days)
	Nisan	1 24	F.	New Year's Day.
		2 25	Sa.	σάββατον τρίτοπρωτον.
		7 30	Th.	End of New Year's Festival.
		{14 April 6	Th.}	ἡμέραι τ. ἀζύμων.
		{21 13	Th.}	

The preceding Table gives the form of the Jewish year in our Lord's days on which the whole of our investigation is based. My reason for selecting the last two years of our Lord's public ministry has been, partly my belief that the more accurate determination of this most momentous period would prove a welcome contribution to many readers of the Gospel history; and partly my conviction that having here the Evangelists to check me, I could not go wrong. The Jewish date is compared with the corresponding date in the old Julian calendar, and the day of the week on which it fell is added. In addition to this the most important festivals, with their dates, have been given; only omitting some few of the less important, to save space; e.g. several fast-days mentioned by Zechariah viii. 19 (cf. p. 52), and the Xylophoria, on the 14th of Ab (Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* II. 17 6).

Comparative View¹ of the Dates assigned by Ancient and Modern Chronologers to the Birth, Baptism, and Death of Christ.

Eusebius	2 B.C. 6 Jan.	29 A.D.	33 A.D.
Jerome	3 B.C. 25 Dec.	29 A.D.	32 A.D.
Baronius	3 B.C. 25 Dec.	29 A.D. 6 Jan.	32 A.D. March.
Scaliger	{ 2 B.C. end of Feb. or begin- ning of Mar. }	29 A.D. 6 Jan.	33 A.D. 3 Apr.
Lamy	4 B.C. 25 Dec.	30 A.D. 8 Nov.	33 A.D. 3 Apr.
Ussher	5 B.C. 25 Dec.	30 A.D.	33 A.D. 3 Apr.
Petavius	5 B.C. 25 Dec.	29 A.D.	31 A.D. 23 Mar.
Calvisius	{ 3 B.C. begin- ning of Oct. }	29 A.D.	33 A.D. 3 Apr.
Pearson	1 B.C.	.....	33 A.D.
Bengel	4 B.C. 25 Dec.	27 A.D. 8 Nov.	30 A.D. 7 Apr.
Vogel	3 B.C.	28 A.D.	31 A.D.
Süskind	{ 3 B.C. end of Feb. or begin- ning of Mar. }	{ 29 A.D. end of Feb. or begin- ning of Mar. }	32 A.D.
Hug	1 B.C. Feb.	29 A.D. Feb.	
Sanclemente	7 B.C. 25 Dec.	25 A.D., close.	29 A.D. 25 Mar.
Ideler	{ 7 B.C. before close of year. }	{ 25 A.D. close, or beginning of 26 A.D. }	29 A.D. 15 Apr.
Paulus	3 B.C. Feb.	{ 29 A.D. end of Feb. or begin- ning of Mar. }	31 A.D. 26 Apr.
Schrader	.....	.....	35 A.D.
Anger	{ 4 B.C. before April. }	29 A.D. beginning.	31 A.D. 27 Apr.
Wieseler	4 B.C. Feb.	{ 27 A.D. spring or summer. }	30 A.D. 7 Apr.

¹ See also the tables of Göschel, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1831, iv. 706 (which also include the history of the Apostle Paul), which, with some trifling exceptions, have been elaborated with great care. There is a more detailed table, for the determination of the year of our Lord's birth from the point of view of the earlier chronologers, in the preface to J. J. Hottinger's *Περὶ τῆς, Dissertationes Biblico-Chronol.* 1723, drawn up, in common with the preface generally, by Lampe, who edited the work. This places our Lord's natal year at earliest in 34 B.C. (!) and at latest in 8 A.D. This shews us how wide have been the deviations from the truth in the attempt to answer this difficult question. At

the present time we find a far greater unanimity, which we may regard as a favourable token of a perfect agreement at last. The chronologers, whose views we have given above, fix the year of our Lord's birth at earliest 7 years before, and that of His death at latest 35 years after the epoch of the era of Dionysius, which, from the nature of the case, appear to be the outside limits of Christ's life. Those who are familiar with the facts of the case will readily notice, how difficult even the ablest investigators have found it to free themselves from the fetters of a more or less fully attested tradition.

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE EXPLAINED OR ILLUSTRATED.

	PAGE
Ex. xii. 1—8.....	330 ff.
16.....	353
22.....	ib.
xiii. 1—10.....	330 ff.
Lev. xxiii. 5—14....	330 ff., 337 ff.
Numb. ix. 10.....	330
xxiv. 17.....	61
Deut. xvi. 1—8.....	330 ff.
7.....	351
Josh. v. 11.....	331
xv. 32.....	244
61.....	ib.
xix. 7.....	ib.
Jud. vii. 24.....	254
2 Chron. xiii. 19.....	210
xxv. 1—17.....	331
Neh. iii. 1, 32.....	255
xii. 39.....	ib.
Isai. x. 30.....	254
Ezek. xlv. 20.....	234
Hos. ix. 7.....	288
Zech. xiv. 10.....	310
Judith viii. 6.....	326
St. Matt. iv. 12.....	161, 221
13.....	279
v. 5.....	263
viii. 28.....	299
xii. 9.....	234
xiii. 54—58.....	278
xiv. 3.....	235
6.....	286
13—21.....	267
22—36.....	269
xvi. 16.....	271
xvii. 24—27.....	259
xviii. 1.....	304
xix. 28.....	263

	PAGE
St. Matt. xxii. 17—19.....	93
19.....	260
xxiii. 37—39.....	312
xxvi. 5.....	354
17.....	335, 345
xxvii. 56.....	410
61.....	ib.
62.....	400
xxviii. 1.....	408
St. Mark i. 16—20.....	279
i. 16—ii. 28.....	283
iii. 1—vi. 44.....	284
1.....	214
31—35.....	280
v. 1.....	299
vi. 1—6.....	278
17 ff.....	235
21.....	286
30—44.....	267
45—53.....	270
viii. 22.....	269
29.....	271
xiii. 35.....	392
xiv. 1.....	354
12 335, 345, 347	
53.....	390
xv. 25.....	393
40—47.....	410
xvi. 1.....	ib.
9—20... 402, 415	
St. Luke i. 2.....	197
5.....	133
56.....	151
ii. 2.....	105—113
4.....	103
8.....	138
39.....	153

	PAGE		PAGE
St. Luke ii. 41	351	St. John iv. 54	266
iii. 1.	222	v. 1.	204 ff
1, 2.	171	2.	255
3.	244	v. 9.	216
19, 20.	235	vi. 1.	161, 216
20.	195	1-15.	267
23 117, 171, 199		16-21.	269
iv. 13.	199	22-59.	285
16-vi. 5.	285	66.	272
16-30.	266, 277	67.	ib.
16.	234	68, 69.	271
v. 1-11.	279	vii. 2.	305
vi. 1.	222	10.	310
6.	234	vii. 10-x. 42.	310, 319
6-ix. 17.	271, 284	14.	319
12-ix. 17.	271	viii. 3-11.	319
viii. 19-21.	280	x. 22.	308
26.	285, 299	xi. 1-44.	320
ix. 10-17.	267	9.	399
20.	271	18.	417
51-xiii. 21.	310, 319	49-51.	189
51.	314	54.	311
x. 1-17.	317	xii. 1.	307
xiii. 7.	257	20-43.	379
22-xvii. 10.	311	xiii. 1, 2.	365 ff
34, 35.	257	29.	353
xxii. 1.	382	xviii. 13.	189, 387
7.	335, 346	25-27.	389
54.	390	28.	352
xxiii. 44.	373	xix. 13.	392
54.	408	14.	325, 371
xxiv. 18.	441	25.	411
49.	407	31.	371
50-53.	ib.	36.	360
St. John i. 19.	167, 248, 254	xxi.	402
28.	254	Acts i. 1.	120
29-34.	167	5.	407
40.	297	22.	196
43.	271	iv. 5, 6.	189
ii. 4.	267	v. 21, 27.	186
13.	165	36.	100
20.	ib.	37.	106
23.	251	vii. 16.	253
iii. 23.	244	22.	123
25.	245	x. 37.	196
iv. 6.	397	xii. 3.	351
35.	212	4.	391
40.	251	12.	412
44.	41-48	xiii. 24.	196

	PAGE		PAGE
Acts. xiii. 25.....	197	1 Cor. v. 7.....	360
xx. 6.....	443	1 Cor. x. 16.....	361
xxi. 26.....	449	xi. 23.....	386
xxi. 27.....	446, 450	25.....	384
37.....	392	xv. 4—8.....	403
38.....	187	2 Cor. xi. 24.....	334
xxiii. 1.....	186	Gal. iv. 10.....	229
1—5.....	190	Col. ii. 16.....	ib.
xxiv. 11.....	447	1 Pet. ii. 9.....	263
xxvii. 9.....	239	1 Joh. v. 6.....	386
Rom. i. 16.....	318		

INDEX.

A.

Abia, course of, 134.
 Adar and Veadar, 204.
 Ænon, 244.
 Æra, Egyptian, of Augustus, 441.
 — Dionysian, 50.
 — Seleucid in 1 and 2 Macc., 432.
 Amygdalon, Pool of, 255 n.
 ἀνδληψις, meaning of, 314, 316 n.
 Ananias, High Priest, 187.
 ἀναχωρεῖν, meaning of, 37.
 Ancyra, Monument of, 87—89.
 Annas, High Priest, 185—190.
 — Nasi, 189, 387.
 Antiochus Epiphanes, date of death of, 433.
 Antonia, Tower of, 392.
 Apostles, call of, 283.
 Archelaus, Ethnarch, banishment of, 55, 159.
 Ἀρχιερεὺς, different meanings of, in New Testament, 184—190.
 Aretas, King of Arabia, 236.

B.

Baptism of Christ, date of, 165—171, 200.
 Barcohab, 61 n.
 Berenice, inscription at, 440.
 Bethabara, 254 n.
 Bethany, 309, 417.
 Bethesda, 254 n.
 Bethlehem, 102.
 Bethphage, 379, 418.

Bethsaida in Galilee and in Peræa, 268.
 Blind men, cure of, at Jericho, 322.

C.

Caiaphas, 183, 387.
 Calendars, Jewish and Syro-Macedonian, 429.
 Capernaum, 169.
 Census of Palestine at the time of our Lord's birth, 72—117; objections to, 72.
 — of Quirinus, 105—117.
 — of the Roman Empire, 75, 82.
 Chagiga, 369.
 Chinese observations of a new star, 67—69.
 Christ, birth of Christ at Bethlehem, 33—49; visit of Magi to, 57—71; flight into Egypt, 155—159; age of, at His baptism, 117—125; Baptism, 165—171, 200; return to Galilee after Purim, 204; Galilean ministry, 259; visits to Nazareth, 278; transfiguration of, 304; last journey to Jerusalem, 308; heals two blind men at Jericho, 322; kingly entry into Jerusalem, 323; day of His death, 324 ff.; year of His death, 372, 457; trial and condemnation, 386; denied by Peter, 388; crucifixion, hour of, 393, 399; burial, 400; resurrection, 402;

appearances in Judea, 408, 417;
in Galilee, 416; ascension, 417.
Cleopas, 414.
Consuls in our Lord's days, 242,
375.

D.

Dalmanutha, 303.
Day, natural and civil, 395.
— commencement of, among
different nations, 397.
Dedication, Feast of, 320.
Διδραχμον, 259.
Dioscoros, Syrian month, 435.
Disciples, Seventy, mission of,
317.
Drachm, value of, 259.

E.

Egypt, flight into, 155—159.
Emmaus, 414.
Ephraim, 313.
Epiphanes (Antiochus), date of
his death, 433.
Epiphany, Feast of, 130.
Eusebius, his testimony to the
Gospels, 163.

F.

Feasts, Jewish, according to the
phase of the Moon, 230, 422.
Fig Tree, parable of, 200.
— cursed by Christ, 200,
379.
Five Thousand, Feeding of, 284.
Flaccus, Governor of Syria, 238.
Flocks and herds, when driven
out to pasture, 138—142.
Friday, Christian fast-day, 329.

G.

Gabbatha, 393.
Gadarenes, 299.
Gate, Sheep, 255; of Ephraim
and Benjamin, 310 *n.*
Γενέσια of Antipas, 289.
Gethsemane, 386.

Golgotha, 399.
Gospels, general characteristics
of, 153.
— of St. Matthew, character-
istics of, 292—294.
Good Friday, events of, 386.

H.

Haphtaroth, 229 *n.*
Harvest, season of, in Palestine,
213.
Hebron, 252 *n.*
Herod Antipas, date of accession,
174.
— of marriage
with Herodias, 236; birthday
of, 289.
Herod the Great, date of his
death, 51—57.
High Priest, not always Pres-
ident of the Sanhedrim, 185.
— received his official
dress seven days before the
feast, 250 *n.*, 451.
High Priest, list of twenty-eight
from the time of Herod, 187 *n.*
Hours, how reckoned, 396; vari-
able and equal, 398.
Hyrcanus, 430, 435.

I.

Intercalated year, 204.
— month, name and
position of, 206.

J.

James, son of Alphæus, our
Lord's appearance to, 404, 414.
John the Baptist, commencement
of his ministry, 202; date of his
imprisonment, 243; place of
the same, 243, 245; date of his
execution, 286.
Jubilee, year of, 340.
Jupiter and Saturn, conjunction
of, 62—71.
Jutta, supposed home of Zacha-
rias, 152.

K.

Keppler, his calculations of the star of the wise men, 63—66.

L.

Lamy's theory of a double imprisonment of the Baptist, 221 n.

Last Supper, 323 n., 346, 384.

λιθόστρωτον, 393.

Lysanias, Tetrarch of Abilene, 174—182.

M.

Machærus, Castle of, 241, 246.

Magdala, 304.

Magi, arrival of, in Jerusalem, 71.

Mary, Virgin, not an heiress, 104.

Marys, the, named in New Testament, 412 n.

Matthew, surnamed Levi, call of, 284.

— wrote λόγια in Aramaic, 292, 296.

— arrangement of his Gospel, 296.

— characteristics of his Gospel, 292—294.

Matthias, insurrection of, identical with Theudas, 98—104.

Monumentum Ancyranum, 87—89.

Morning sacrifice, 352.

Mount, Sermon on the, date of, 286, 294.

Mountains, celebrated, in New Testament, 294 n.

N.

Nasi, the, 169—190.

Nazareth, the original home of our Lord's parents, 35, 102; Christ's visits to, 279.

Nazaritic vow, 449.

Night watches, 392.

O.

Offering, daily, 335, 352.

Omer, 227.

Osiridis Inventio, Feast of, 130—132.

P.

Palestine, climate of, 140—142, 249 n.

Palm Sunday, 378.

Παρασκευή, meaning of term, 325.

Paschal controversy, 335, 455.

Passion Week, events of, 376 ff.

Passover, regulations of, 329; in our Lord's days not restricted to any fixed day of week, 344.

— Ægyptiacum et sequentium ætatum, 330, 353.

— Second, meaning of word, 330 n.

πατρὶς ἰδία, meaning of, 44—48.

Paul, St., his imprisonment at Cæsarea, 446; did not take a Nazaritic vow, 449.

περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, 244.

Peter, denials of, 388.

Phillip the Tetrarch, date of, 173.

Pilate, Pontius, date of his government, 173.

Prætorium, 392.

Priests, orders of, 133.

Priests, age of, at beginning of their office, 122.

Prophets, Galilean, 40 n.

Purim, Feast of, 204—212; of two kinds, the greater and lesser, 205; occurred on a Saturday, 198, 454; identified with ἑορτή, Joh. v. 1, 210, 217; description of, 219.

Q.

Quirinus, taxing under, 105—117.

Zumpt's note on, 143—150; orthography of name, 143 n.

R.

Rain, early and latter, 140.

S.

Sabbata tricesima, 231.
 Sabbath day's journey, length of, 417 *n*.
 Sabbath, meaning of word, 337, 340.
 ——— considered more sacred than an ordinary feast day, 333, 337, 348.
 ——— executions might take place on it, 348.
 Sabbatical year, 203; calculation by, 232.
σαββατον δευτερόπρωτον, 222—234.
 Salim, 244.
 Sanhedrim, meetings of, 186; place of meeting, 387; president of, or Nasi, 186.
 Seventy, the, mission of, 317.
 Simon surnamed Peter, 271; our Lord appears to, 414.
 Star of the wise men, 57—71.
 Sun, was it eclipsed at the crucifixion? 373.
 Superlative instead of comparative, 112.
 Sychar, 252 *n*.

T.

Tabernacles, Feast of, 300, 319.
 Taxes of the Jews, 92; poll-tax, 93, 260; temple-tax, 264.
 Temple, second, date of restoration by Herod, 165; of destruction by Titus, 134.
 Temptation of Christ, 253.
 Tetrarch, meaning of title, 182.
 Theudas, identified with Matthias, 100, 101.
 Tiberias, built by Antipas, 242.
 Tiberius, date of his accession, 171.
 Tycho Brahe's new star, 67.

U.

Unleavened Bread, Feast of, 333.

W.

Watches of the night, 392.
 Wurm's Table to determine 15th of Nisan, 427.

Y.

Year, Jewish. (See Excursus.)
 — regnal, of Jewish Sovereigns, how calculated, 53.
 — double commencement of, 228, 424.

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